Transactions of the British Society for the History of Pharmacy

Margery Rowe and G. E. Trease

Thomas Baskerville, Elizabethan Apothecary of Exeter

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THOMAS BASKERVILLE, ELIZABETHAN APOTHECARY OF EXETER

by Margery Rowe and G. E. Trease

Thomas Baskerville, who died in 1596, was one of the six Exeter apothecaries referred to by Roberts[1] as being active in Exeter in the period 1560—1600. His historical importance lies in the fact that he is the only Devon apothecary whose will and inventory have survived from the sixteenth century.[2] These documents, which we now publish, are supplemented by information on his background and life derived from the Exeter muniments and from parish registers. The picture which emerges is that of a prosperous, well-educated man of affairs who, if he had lived longer, might well have become one of the twenty-four city councillors, the attainment of which goal was the hallmark of worldly success in sixteenth century Exeter.

Baskerville died leaving a well-stocked pharmacy and a well-furnished house and his leases, house and shop contents and money owing to him totalled the useful sum of £324. The net total, however, was little over £100 since he owed £100 to his son-in-law, £60 to a physician, and £60 to wholesalers in London.

Simpson[3] has refuted the idea that the poverty-stricken apothecary of Romeo and Juliet was typical of Shakespeare's England ; Hoskins[4] has shown that the Elizabethan merchant class was frequently recruited from the younger sons of good families ; and Roberts[5] gives Exeter examples of early 17th century apothecaries, such as Thomas Edwards and Thomas Flay, who came of armigerous families. William Trivett, apothecary, was mayor of Exeter in 1573-4.[6]

No members of the Baskerville family have been found in Devon before the 16th century. The earliest noted occur in Exeter and, towards the end of the century, in the small west Devon parish of Ashwater. A namesake and contemporary of our apothecary was the Sir Thomas Baskerville who commanded the land forces which sailed with Drake in 1595. The Baskervilles are particularly associated with Herefordshire and it is perhaps significant that the first member of the family noted in Exeter, John Baskerville, served his apprenticeship with a man of Welsh origin. Six children of Alexander Baskerville were baptised in St. Petrock and he was buried there in 1598.[7] Our apothecary lived and died in the near-by parish of St Mary Major. Although absolute proof is lacking it seems probable that Alexander and Thomas were the sons of John Baskerville. The latter served his apprenticeship with Griffith

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Ameredith, merchant, and was made a freeman in 1548.[8] Thomas's mother, Joan Basill, is mentioned in his will.

The records of St. Mary Major, the parish in which Thomas Baskerville had his house and shop, give details of his family except for the youngest son Thomas whose birth is not recorded. Thomas married Mary Park on the 28th January 1571.[9] Their first child Jone was buried in 1573. Simon was baptised in 1574, Elizabeth in 1576 and Richard in 1579. Thomas himself was buried in 1596 and his widow Mary in 1609. In his will (*q.v.*) Thomas left 6s. 8d. "to the poore people of St. Mary Michells".[10]

No record of Thomas's birth has been found but we suggest it occurred about 1549. John Baskerville was made free in 1548 and probably, like Thomas himself, married immediately afterwards. If Thomas was in fact born in 1549 he was 22 when he completed his apprenticeship, became a freeman and married. He would, therefore have been 14 or 15 when he commenced a 7 or 8 year apprenticeship.[11] Thomas served his apprenticeship with the apothecary John Hele (Heale, Heyll or Heyle)[12] and was made free to trade in the City of Exeter in 1571-2.[13]

When Thomas died he held leases of a house in Cook Row, a house in South Gate Street, and a stable and brewhouse in Rack Lane. All are in the parish of St. Mary Major. Old maps[14] show that in Elizabethan times the present South Street was divided into Cook Row (near the junction with High Street), Bell Hill, and then South Gate Street extending to the city wall. Thomas' shop could have been either in Cook Row or South Gate Street but the former seems the more likely site, being nearer to the main shopping area and because Mrs. Baskerville was living there shortly after her husband's death. The stable and brewhouse at Rack Lane were almost equally accessible from either house. Hooker[15] refers to two Baskerville properties, but introduces a complication, which we are unable to explain, when he refers to Thomas Baskerville's wife as Edyth. The area of the Rack Lane site is given as 18 feet by 29 feet. There was still some open ground in this part of the city as may be seen from Hogenberg's map and the name is derived from the racks used for drying cloth.

The Rack Lane lease is dated 1561 but Baskerville must have acquired it at a later date. The South Gate lease is dated 1590, the year in which Thomas was bailiff of Exeter. Assuming that Baskerville's shop was always in Cook Row he must have inhabited this house and shop from at least 1580, since his apprentice Henry Elliott who must have been with him for at least seven years was made free in 1587-88.[16] In 1592 Thomas was one of the four men who priced the goods of Thomas Greenwode, haberdasher, for the Orphans Court ; in 1595 Thomas was rated £5 on goods in the parish of St. Mary Major.[17]

The probable date of Thomas' birth, 1549, was the year of the Prayer-book Rebellion when the Catholic rebels beseiged Exeter. Gradually

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under Elizabeth the city became protestant and by the end of the sixteenth century few catholics remained. From his will and from the St. Mary Major parish records it may be assumed that Thomas regularly attended his parish church. His eldest son, Simon, who spent his adult life in Oxford and London was a catholic but his daughter, Elizabeth, married Ignatius Jourdain, one of the most fervent puritans in Exeter (see note 29).

Six years before his death Thomas became bailiff of Exeter, an office which was often the first step on the ladder to the highest civic office of Mayor.[18]

In the 16th and 17th centuries apothecaries were keenly interested in foreign affairs. Much of their stock in trade came from abroad and drugs from the New World found their way to Spain and only shortly afterwards to England. In Thomas's inventory are listed such New World products as lignum vitae, sassafras wood, tobacco and sarsaparilla. Sarsaparilla, for example, was first introduced into Seville about 1540 but Thomas had in stock no less than 20 lbs. valued at 30/-.[19] This drug and lignum vitae (or guaiacum) were esteemed for the treatment of syphilis. Supplies were doubtless partly obtained through trade channels and partly obtained from captured ships. Thomas' inventory includes "a small mappe" and "the shoppe books". The latter may have only been account books but may have included a Herbal such as that of William Turner which was dedicated to Queen Elizabeth in 1568 or John Frampton's translation of Monardes.[20]

Since Thomas Baskerville junior, who later became an apothecary, was under age when his father died the shop almost certainly passed out of the Baskerville family.[21] A likely successor was Thomas's late apprentice Henry Elliott.

House and Contents (see Document II)

Baskerville's house had eight rooms, plus the shop and cellar. Portman[22] has recently described the various types of houses found in Elizabethan Exeter. They usually had a very narrow frontage but went back a long way, and frequently had a side passage which might be covered over by the upper floors. Baskerville's house might be described as that of a prosperous but not wealthy man and his eight rooms compare with as many as twenty in houses of the most important merchants. The only house in South Street to survive is No. 67 which Portman dates ca. 1600. Other existing houses which correspond fairly closely with the rooms mentioned in Baskerville's inventory are those at 36 and 38 North Street (see Portman, *op. cit.* Plate 10 and figs. xii and xv), which were originally the houses of merchants and date from about 1500.

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No. 38 North Street Frontage 19′, side passage 4′	Baskerville's Unknown, but presumed similar
1. Shop, 19′ x 16′	Shop, obviously a large room from the contents.
2. Room, ca. 19′ x 16′ with stairs to cellar and possibly stairs to upper floors	Parlour, apparently used as bedroom for husband and wife, as study and possibly consulting room.
3. Open Hall, 19′ x 10′ originally 22′ 6″ high	Hall, relatively small. Perhaps with stairs to "chamber over hall" and a few steps down to 4 and 5
4. Room (marked Parlour ?)	Lower Parlour
5. Kitchen (across court)	Kitchen

Kitchens were sometimes attached to the rest of the house but sometimes separated by a court. If Baskerville had only limited space part of his court was probably the site of his stilling chamber. Alternatively, since no bedrooms are mentioned as being over the lower parlour or kitchen, the stilling chamber may have been in this position and possibly reached from the court by means of an outside staircase ; this would economise in the number of chimney stacks although the fire risks might be greater.

Upstairs there were three bedrooms and a loft, the latter containing only shop goods. Before Simon Baskerville went to Oxford and his sister Elizabeth married, beds in the house would be required for husband and wife, four children, two or three servants and one apprentice—a total of 10. Beds mentioned in the inventory total 11, three in each of the upper chambers, and in the Parlour, presumably for husband and wife, ' a bedsteed and truclebeed ' valued at £2. Beds could be very elaborate ones with a canopy, truckle beds (low beds with castors which could be kept under a big bed when not in use) or simply a feather or flock mattress which could rest on a frame, a board or the floor.

Plate. This gives some indication of a man's position as in the days before banks spare cash was often invested in silver. The value of Baskerville's silver, £26. 15s. 9d., may be compared with that of some of the richest Exeter merchants of the period who left as much as £100 worth. We must remember, however, that Baskerville died comparatively young and at a time when Devon had suffered a succession of bad harvests which had brought some Devonians to near starvation. Plague doubtless effected prosperity and in near-by Crediton in 1592 out of 252 deaths no less than 202 were due to plague.

Apparel. This all belonged to Thomas, the clothes of the widow and children not being listed. Similarly no mention is made of ready cash and one assumes Mrs. Baskerville had already taken charge of it. Thomas

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had four suits, the best described as ' a satin dublett and breeches ', three cloaks and two hats. The total of his wardrobe was £11. 15s. 4d.

Napery. As one would expect with a large family the list of sheets, tablecloths, pillow cases, towels, etc., is a long one ; valued £14. 10s. 10d. Quality varied from six pairs of coarse sheets at 15/- to a Damask table cloth, obviously for best use, value £1.

Pewter. This includes candlesticks, plates, bowls, dishes, etc. of a total value of £4. 17s. 6d. Most of it was valued by weight at 5d. lb.

The Parlour. This room we assume lay immediately behind the shop, probably had direct communication with it and also with the hall. It seems to have served as a combined bedchamber, office and study.

In the first English textbook of pharmacy, which we cite simply as Tomlinson,[23] we have a description of an ideal pharmacy. The shop was to be square and have two doors, one giving entrance from the street, the other into the house into a room which Tomlinson calls ' the kitchen or inner chamber '. Of this room, which we regard as Baskervilles ' parlour ', Tomlinson says :

> Here he may not only eat his victuals, but prudently observe through some lattice-window, what is done in the Shop, what given and what received ; and so mind his apprentices, whether they spend their time idlely, faithfully and accurately execute their office, or do all for his good, and effect his work.

It will be noted that one item of the parlour's contents was a piece of leather, value 2/-. Did this cover the peep-hole through which he could ' prudently observe ' his staff and customers ?

The parlour was the most expensively furnished room in the house. In addition to the bed and truckle-bed already noted, it contained four chests, a low chair, two stools, a side table and a fireplace. Windows may have looked out on the side passage and there were window curtains and window cushions, the latter perhaps placed on some of the chests. The room also contained a basin and ewer, a looking glass and two brushes. There was a close stool and to give more privacy a screen (skryen). This is the only sign of lavatory facilities in the house, but there were probably chamber pots elsewhere for the use of the children and servants.

Hall. The contents of the hall were only valued at £3. 13s. 4d. and consisted of two chairs, eight stools, three footstools, a piece of wainscotting (seling) together with iron-dogs and other fireplace equipment. The whole rather suggests the waiting room of a doctor's surgery. We suggest that it probably had a door leading in from the side passage, another to the parlour and a third leading by a few steps to the lower parlour and kitchen. Possibly this was the site of a newel or other staircase leading upstairs.

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Lower Parlour. This was a well-furnished room with contents valued at £10. 18s. 10d. It was obviously used for meals having a table board, a chair, eight stools and a low stool. It also had a pair of tables, a chest, four coloured carpets (then usually wall decorations), thirteen cushions, instruments for the fire, a small map and some glasses.

Kitchen. This was well-equipped to cater for a large family, and its contents were valued at £9. 2s. 4d. One has the impression of a busy but comfortable room. In it was a table, two cupboards (one for pewter), a fireplace with andirons and dogs and numerous utensils used for cooking (five spits, pothooks, metal pots, cauldrons, dishes and plate covers). There was a sugar barrel and copper candlesticks.

The kitchen was also the armoury. At the time of the Armada Thomas would be about forty and all men between 16 and 60 were liable for military service. Bows and arrows were on the way out and in every company of the militia there were some men armed with muskets and others with guns known as culverins. In Thomas's kitchen was both a musket and a culverin, together with armour and two headpieces, a rapier and a dagger. The fowling piece and the bow and quiver of arrows indicate his off duty pleasures.

Bedrooms. The three rooms called *Chamber over Hall*, *Chamber over Parlour*, and *Chamber next the street over Parlour* (the latter actually over the shop unless the front of the house was one storied or the stilling chamber and upper loft were placed over the shop) were bedrooms. They were cheaply furnished with a total of nine beds, chests, cupboards, boxes, wicker chairs, etc., the total value being only £9. 4s. 4d.

Upper Loft. This was entirely devoted to the storage of pharmaceutical materials of a total value of £6. 3s. 8d. The items include sarsaparilla root, half cwt. of red lead (probably for paint), linseed, ratsbane (rat poison), gum arabic, 10 doz. urinals, 1 doz. cupping glasses and 500 small boxes (probably an early form of the ' chip ' box).

Stilling Chamber. This room was not entirely used for distilling but was used for making other preparations such as syrups, honeys, ointments, fixed oils and possibly paint. Associated with distillation were two lead stills, an alembic still, coriander seed, oil of bitter almonds and six quarts of ' old sweet water '. Sweet waters were perfumes like lavender water ; one formula which has come down to us is that of Henry VIII's perfumer.[24] Oils obtained by expression (oil of bay laurel berries, oil of almonds) were used in various ointments ; the linseed oil was probably for use in paint, and the beeswax and spermaceti for cerates and possibly sealing wax. Other items were treacle, syrup of roses, a pottell (half gallon pot) of coarse honey and 2 dozen glister (i.e. enema) pipes. The numerous containers included chests, barrels, gallon glass bottles, oil pots and painted boxes.

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The Shop (see Document III)

This inventory is a continuation of Document II but is written in a different hand, probably that of the apothecary Anthony Salter. To facilitate reference each item has been given a number.

Most of the drugs are to be found in the first edition of the *Pharmacopeoia Londinensis* of 1618[25] and many will be familiar to older pharmacists of the present day. In addition to those drugs listed in the shop it will be remembered that there were a number of others in the upper loft and in the stilling chamber.

The shop was obviously arranged in a space-saving and orderly manner and details not given in the inventory can be visualised from the descriptions given by Tomlinson. It will be noted that similar items were kept together, e.g. common oils [146], ointments [147], volatile oils [152], animal products [168, 169, 172, 173], and preserves, sweetmeats and sugar [176—184]. Doubtless there were shelves on the walls as described by Tomlinson but the shop fittings described include a great chest [191], seventeen large painted boxes [192], seven painted barrels [193], case of boxes [194], a seat with 18 boxes in the same [195], the Lyon and deske on the stalle [205], and the shelf (? counter) and paynted clothes for the shoppe [210]. Many of the containers, e.g. the two dozen syrup pots with spouts [198], would now be valuable items for collectors of ceramics. The instruments mentioned [186, 188, 189, 190, 196, 197] would be adequate for most pharmaceutical operations although they are less numerous than those given in Tomlinson's ten page description.

In view of the then recent opening up of new trade routes it is interesting to note what items must have come from the Far East or from the New World. From the former source we have benzoin [14] from Sumatra ; agollochum or aloes wood [39 and 78] from Sumatra and China ; China root [61] brought by Chinese traders to Goa about 1535 ; rhubarb [90] from China ; camphor [107] from China ; cloves [152], mace [148] and nutmegs [154] from the East Indies ; and musk [173] from China and Tibet. From the New World came castoreum [53] from the North American beaver ; sassafras wood [66] from Florida where it was used medicinally by the French expedition of 1562-4 on the recommendation of the Indians ; tobacco [88] from America introduced into England ca. 1565 ; mechoacan [100] from Mexico and Southern U.S.A. described by Monardes in 1565 as a new drug called *Ruybarbo de las Indias* ; and lignum vitae or guaiacum wood from the West Indies which was recommended in England for ' the Frenche Pockes ' as early as 1536. It will be noted that Baskerville also had a pestle and mortar [190] made of this very hard wood. To these items in the shop should be added a relatively large supply, 20 lbs., of the new syphilis remedy sarsaparilla, which was stored in the loft. This American drug was first brought to Spain in 1540.

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An analysis of items [1] to [184] gives us the following groups :

Organised drugs, i.e. herbs, barks, roots, etc. To the 58 individually named must be added an unknown number of seeds in the case of boxes [162] and simples in the case of boxes [163] and in the boxes of the counter [164]. Examples of this group are chamaepitis [4], sandalwood [10], juniper berries [11], hellebore root [15] and senna [22].

Unorganised drugs, i.e. gums, resins, balsams, etc. These total 30 and include olibanum [12], benzoin [14], galbanum [18] and mastic [24].

Animal drugs about 10 in number include mummy [16], castoreum [53], cantharides [57], white wax (bleached beeswax) [65], isinglass [111], lapis bezoar [168], ambergris [169], civet [172] and musk [173]. More doubtful is ' dore sewet ' [6], perhaps deer suet or fat, which was used medicinally.

Oils. A number of volatile oils are individually named : oil of turpentine [145], oil of mace [148], oil of cloves [152], oil of aniseed [153] and oil of origanum [153]. The item ' other common oyles ' [146] may include both fixed and volatile oils. The only fixed oil specifically mentioned is sweet oil (i.e. olive oil) [74] but there were some fixed oils in the stilling chamber (linseed, bay and sweet almond). Oils which the London Pharmacopeoia of 1618 called ' Olea ex Mineralibus ' included oil of tartar [143], oil of sulphur [153] and oil of vitreol [153].

Pharmaceutical preparations. The total of these is large but unknown, since many are merely grouped into classes, e.g. pills [119], plasters and salves [122], conserves [123], syrups [124], electuaries [125], oils [146], ointments [147], cordial powders [157]. Named preparations include Mithridate [120] the formula of which was ascribed to Mithidates, King of Pontus (B.C. 132-63), and Confectio Alkermes [167] an Arabian electuary associated with Mesuë, the court physician of Harun-al-Rashid.

Miscellaneous. Like pharmacists to-day the apothecaries had a number of traditional side-lines and as opportunity offered others were added. Tobacco smoking increased rapidly towards the end of Elizabeth's reign and apothecaries sold both tobacco [88] and tobacco pipes [134]. From the Middle Ages they had sold sugar and, following Arab practice, many preparations containing sugar. Baskerville had preserved nutmegs and myrobalans [154], green ginger [155], candied fruit [176], dry conserves [177], marmalade [178], white candy [179], red candy [180], biskye bred [181], ' comfets and other sweet meates with boxes and all ' [183] and a considerable stock of brown powdered sugar [184]. Other household or toilet requirements in stock were French barley (pearl barley) [131], washing balls [133], damask powder [141], pomatum [149] for the hair, pomanders [170] or perfume balls and perfumes [137]. Other articles sold were varnish [144], gold leaf [134] for decoration, and saltpetre [138] for gunpowder. Materials which could be used for making paint were

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½ cwt. red lead (in the loft), 3 gallons of linseed oil (in the stilling chamber) and 2 barrels of turpentine [72] in the shop.

Document I. Thomas Baskerville's Will. (Orphan's Court Book.[26] E.C.M. book 142, f. 71)

In the name of God Amen the xx*jth* daye of Auguste in the yere of our Lorde 1596 I Thomas Barskervilde beinge in perfit memorye thanckes be geven to God doe give and bequeath my soule to Almightye God mye only Savyour and Redeemer and mye bodye to the earthe. Item I give and bequeathe to the poore people of St. Mary Michells vi*s* viii*d* [6s. 8d.][27] Item I give and bequeathe unto my Mother Joan Basill[28] xx*s* [20s.] Item I geve and bequeathe unto mye sonne Richard x^{li} [£10] Item I give unto mye sonne Thomas x^{li} [£10][29] And for such goodes as it hath pleased God to endewe me withall both moveable & unmovable I give and bequeathe unto Marye my wife whom I make myn Executrixe Provided alwaies I doe bynde mye said wife to paye that of right I owe & to recover that of right [that] is due unto me bye vertue of this my last will and Testament and for Overseer I doe macke my brother in Lawe Richard Perrye[30] unto whome I doe give vj*s* viij*d* [6s. 8d.] In witnes whereof I have hereunto sett my hand & seale the daye & yere above written.

The will was proved by the executrix in the Archdeaconry Court of Exeter, 22 October 1596.

Although the inventory of house and shop form a single document that of the shop is written in a different hand and we consider them separately as Documents II and III.

Document II. Inventory Excluding Shop. (Orphan's Court Inventories No. 62 ff., 1-4)

The Inventories of all and singular the goods, chattels and debtes of Thomas Baskervile late of the cittie of Exeter deceased taken and priced the second daie of November Anno Dom. 1596 by Hugh Crossinge,[31] Hugh Morrell,[32] and Anthonye Salter.[33]

Plate			
Imprimis towe guilt salts and a little/secke cupp with a cover weyeing 26 oz at 5/8 oz.	£7.	7s.	4d.
Item towo silver beakers towo whit/boles one parcell guilt bole, one pocion/cup and 9 silver sponnes weying all 61 oz. at 4/8 oz.	£14.	4s.	8d.
Item a nutte garnished with silver/guilt at being 12 oz. di. at 5/6d.	£3.	8s.	9d.
Item fower stone cups and juggs covered/with silver	£1.	15s.	od.
sum	£26.	15s.	9d.
Apparell			
Item three old dubletts and a girkin [jerkin]	£1.	2s.	od.
Item towe paier of breches		8s.	od.
Item one old cloke		13s.	4d.
Item two blacke cloks	£4.	os.	od.

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Item a sattin Dublett and breches	£2.	os.	od.
Item a Gowne	£2.	10s.	od.
Item towe hatts		8s.	8d.
Item stockings girdell & haungings		13s.	4d.
sum	£11.	15s.	4d.

Nappery

It. 4 diapper tabell cloths one yard and di ech		10s.	od.
It. 4 cowrse canvas table cloths		5s.	od.
It. 1 doz and half of cowrse canvas/napkens		4s.	od.
It. 10 hand towels		3s.	4d.
It. 6 pairs of cowrse shets		15s.	od.
It. 3 pilloties and 1 old sheete		2s.	6d.
It. one doz. of table mapkins of canvas		6s.	od.
It. 3 doz. and half of other table napkins	£1.	5s.	od.
It. one doz. and half of woven diaper		9s.	od.
It. one doz. of Damaske napkins		18s.	od.
It. 8 sidetable cloths	£1.	os.	od.
It. 2 old diaper cloths for table		10s.	od.
It. 6 table cloths	£2.	os.	od.
It. 4 paier of sheets	£1.	10s.	od.
It. 11 pilloties		15s.	od.
It. a Damask towell		6s.	8d.
It. 7 towells		14s.	od.
It. a table cloth for a round bord		4s.	od.
It. one damaske table clothe	£1.	os.	od.
It. half a dozen old natkins		1s.	6d.
It. the lyninge for his bodie	£1.	11s.	10d.
Sum	£14.	10s.	10d.

Pewter

It. 2 paier of pewter candelsticks		4s.	od.
It. 3 platters, podyngers, sawcers, bowles, basens and dishes 180 lb at 5d lb	£3.	15s.	od.
It. one gallon pott, 3 quart potts and 4 pint potts of tynn		16s.	od.
It. other small tynyng vessell		2s.	6d.
Sum	£4.	17s.	6d.

In the Hall

It. 2 chaiers, 8 stooles, a litell bord 3 foot stooles & a pece of seling	£1.	3s.	4d.
It. a paier of copper Andyrons / a paier of yron Doggs, ffierpan and tongs all	£2.	10s.	od.
Sum	£3.	13s.	4d.

In the Parlour

It. a bedstead and truclebeed	£2.	os.	od.
It. a coverlett, curtains and valence to the same	£1.	15s.	od.
It. a paier of blancketts		5s.	od.
It. 3 ffether beeds and 2 bolsters	£5.	10s.	od.
It. one great cipres [cypress wood] chest and tow smale	£1.	6s.	8d.

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It. one old wenskot [panelled] chest		4s.	od.
It. a low chaier and two stols covered with leather/ and a sid table bourd		8s.	od.
It. a skryen and close stoole		8s.	od.
It. a peece of leather		2s.	od.
It. 2 paier of dogs and a paier of belloes		4s.	od.
It. 2 window curtains and curtayne rodds/ and a litell painted cloth		5s.	od.
It. 2 old window cushens		8s.	od.
It. a basen and yeower		5s.	od.
It. a lowking glasse and 2 brushes		3s.	4d.
It. a payre of vallance		3s.	4d.
Sum	£13.	7s.	4d.

In the Chamber over the Hall

It. 2 flockbeeds with bolsters		10s.	od.
It. 2 paier of blanketts and 3 coverings / all old stuffe		6s.	od.
It. a truckle bead and ticke		4s.	od.
It. 2 teasters and stayned cloths		2s.	6d.
It. a cheast, an old bourd, a Racke, a paier / of hampers and a barrill		8s.	od.
It. 2 paier of bouts and spurrs, a hanging / table and a budgett		5s.	od.
Sum	£1.	15s.	6d.

In the Chamber over the Parlour

It. a lowe beedstead and canapie		13s.	4d.
It. a fether beed, flockbeed and bolster	£2.	0s.	od.
It. a paier of blanckets and coverlet		6s.	8d.
It. a presse with a cuppbourd		13s.	4d.
It. a cupbourd and a box for / bands [cloths e.g. neck bands, swaddling bands]		8s.	od.
It. 2 chests		13s.	4d.
It. 2 litell coffers and a truncke		4s.	od.
It. the stayned cloths and a wicker chaier		5s.	od.
It. 3 old boxes			8d.
Sum	£5.	4s.	4d.

In the Chamber next to the street over the Parlour

It. 2 truckell beeds, a flock beed and / coverings and bolsters		17s.	6d.
It. 1 old cupbord, 2 boxes, a old willy [willow basket] / and wicker chaier		6s.	od.
It. a hamper and 3 boxes		1s.	od.
It. a teaster and stained cloth		2s.	od.
It. 8 fether pilloes and 2 others		18s.	od
Sum	£2.	5s.	6d.
[in error for	£2.	4s.	6d.]

In the Lowe Parlour

It. a table bourd and six stooles	£1.	4s.	od.
It. a yland chest [? inlaid]	£1.	6s.	8d.

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It. a chaier, 2 stooles, a coffer & / glase cupbord		8s.	od.
It. a window cushen, a carpett, 6 / cushions, curtayne and curtayne rods		12s.	od.
It. 3 tabletts and a small mappe		5s.	od.
It. a paier of tables and a low stoole		2s.	6d.
It. a paier of yron Doggs			8d.
It. a wrought border [? a shelf with needlework or carved border] / 6 litell crowks and glasses		3s.	od.
It. a greene carpett		6s.	od.
It. a coulored carpett		8s.	od.
It. a green cupbord cloth ffrenged		6s.	od.
It. a litell greene carpett		5s.	od.
It. 3 prenitados		4s.	od.
It. an Arras coverlett	£3.	10s.	od.
It. half a dozen cushens		15s.	od.
It. half a dozen of other cushions		10s.	od.
It. a window cushion		5s.	od.
It. a paier of cotten blanckets		8s.	od.
Sum	£10.	18s.	10d.

In the Kytchen

It. a table bourd, a settell, a cupbord / and a pewter cupbourd		12s.	od.
It. a casse of comfitt boxes with turned pillers		10s.	od.
It. shelfs a sugar barrill and asbole		2s.	od.
It. 5 spitts		5s.	od.
It. a paier of Andyrons & Doggs with tongs ffier pane and yron barr		8s.	od.
It. 5 poterouks and 3 hangings		3s.	od.
It. 3 potts and 2 possnets	£1.	0s.	od.
It. 4 gredyrons and 3 chaffen dishes		10s.	od.
It. 4 Chaffen dishes		2s.	od.
It. a kettell of yron and yron pott		5s.	od.
It. 3 pannes		10s.	od.
It. 4 calderons		8s.	od.
It. 10 skillets		12s.	od.
It. 2 plate covers		1s.	od.
It. 2 skomers, 2 labels and fleshoucke		1s.	8d.
It. copper candelsticks		7s.	od.
It. one Armoe and 2 headpeces	£1.	0s.	od.
It. a muskett a calyver [hand gun] with furnytur	£1.	10s.	od.
It. a fowling peece a rapier		6s.	8d.
It. a bowe and quyver of arrowes		4s.	od.
It. a dagge		4s.	6d.
It. an earthen dish, 2 erthen chaffendishes			6d.
Sum	£9.	2s.	4d.

In the Seller

It. tubbes, barrils, a old cupbourd & / a coupe		6s.	8d.
It. 2 frying panns, 3 goosepanns		2s.	od.
It. a copper panne		3s.	4d.
It. a beame and skales		3s.	4d.

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It. coasts and powdering tubbs		12s.	od.
It. 2 cuppbords		5s.	od.
It. a lanterne, wood 2 bags & other stuffe		5s.	od.
It. 2 stonne jugs, 6 carracke[34] dishes & / one doz. of chease trenchers		5s.	od.
Sum	£2.	2s.	4d.

In a Upper Laught

It. 10 doz. of urynals and 6 bottells		11s.	od.
It. 20 lb of salzaperilia	£1.	10s.	od.
It. half hundred of red lead		6s.	8d.
It. 20 lb of Ratsbanne		6s.	od.
It. old Barrils, potts and hampers	£1.	os.	od.
It. a candle mould & a great chest		3s.	4d.
It. 7 tynn potts, a coate of meale		5s.	od.
It. 7 tynyng stills	£1.	os.	od.
It. 5 C [hundred] of small boxes		5s.	od.
It. 12 lb of lynnseed		2s.	od.
It. 20 lb of gombe arabeck		6s.	8d.
It. 20 lb of Otroum and 20 lb of Rasons		3s.	od.
It. one doz. of cupping glasses		3s.	od.
It. a frame and cradle [a frame for holding an article such as a sieve or a babies cradle]		2s.	od.
Sum	£6.	3s.	8d.

In the Stilling Chamber

It. 2 stills of lead		10s.	od.
It. a chest, candell box and other barils		10s.	od.
It. 3 quarters of a c[wt] of triacle	£1.	4s.	od.
It. 4 lb of narball [? marble]		1s.	4d.
It. 24 lb of oile of bayes	£1.	os.	od.
It. 20 lb of coriinder seede		5s.	od.
It. 3 gallons of lynseed oile		10s.	od.
It. a lemberke [alembic still] & closesbole		4s.	od.
It. 6 lb of sirrupp of roses		7s.	od.
It oile of bitter almonds 4 lb & one pound of oile / of sweet almonds		6s.	8d.
It. a gallon and half of mord		4s.	6d.
It. a pottell of cowrse hony		2s.	od.
It. 2 lb of wax		1s.	6d.
It. 6 quarts of old sweet water		6s.	od.
It. 4 glasse gallon bottels & 3 tyn botels		6s.	od.
It. 14 lb of Venice cerins [? currants]		5s.	od.
It. 2 doz glister pippes		4s.	od.
It. one lb of migella [nigella]			8d.
It. one lb of sparma cetii [spermaceti]		2s.	od.
It. 7 painted boxes		5s.	od.
It. other old barrels, boxes and potts		10s.	od.
It. 12 lb of Raildinge			8d.
It. 12 old oile potts		3s.	od.
Sum	£7.	8s.	4d.

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In the Stable and Brewhouse

It. a furnace		15s.	od.
It. a litell panne		3s.	od.
It. 2 brandyrons		1s.	6d.
It. brewing vessell & emptie cask		13s.	4d.
It. a welbouckett and chaine		1s.	od.
It. the woode ther		6s.	8d.
It. a mare haye & furnyture	£3.	10s.	od.
Sum	£5.	10s.	6d.

In Leases

It. for a lease of the house wherin she now dwelleth in the Cowkrow	£20.	os.	od.
It. for a lease of a house in Sowth Gate Street	£26.	13s.	4d.
It. for a lease in Racke Lane of a Stable and brewhouse	£6.	13s.	4d.
Sum	£53.	6s.	8d.

Debts[35]

It. dew by good debts	£15.	3s.	9d.
It. the desperate debts	£33.	1s.	10d.

Document III Inventory of Shop (Orphan's Court Inventories No. 62, ff. 5-7)

In and belonginge to the shoppe

Inprimis [1] Litargirium auri 10 lbs., 3s. od. ; [2] lapis calaminaris 8 lbs., 2s. od. ; [3] pompholix 1½ lbs.. 18d. ; [4] camepithis 1 lb., 4d. ; [5] Alcamia 1 lb., 10d. ; [6] dore sewet 1 lb., 6d. ; [7] Pix greca 2 lbs., 4d. ; [8] Gum sandarake 2 lbs., 3s. od. ; [9] Succus glicirizae 1 lb., 2s. od. ; [10] whit saunders, 2 lbs., 7s. od. ; [11] Grana iuniperi 1 lb., 3d. ; [12] Olibanum 4 lbs., 4s. 6d. ; [13] Stechados 4½ lbs., 3s. 6d. ; [14] Beniamen 9½ lbs., 37s. od. ; [15] Eleborus albus 6 lbs., 5s. od. ; [16] mumerye 1 lb., 2s. od. ; [17] Cardamonium 1 lb., 3s. od. ; [18] Galbanum 6 lbs., 12s. od. ; [19] Caraway seed 12 lbs., 4s. od.; [20] Galenga minor 1½ lbs., 3s. od. ; [21] Calamus odoratus 1 lbs., 6s. od. ; [22] Sene 8 lbs., 16s. od. ; [23] Gum albi anime 7 lbs., 11s. od. ; [24] mastik 1 lb., 6s. 8d. ; [25] Epithimum 3 lbs., 3s. od. ; [26] whit copres 5 lbs., 15d. ; [27] Aristolochia longa 10 ozs., 12d. ; [28] Colloquintida 3½ lbs., 9s. 6d. ; [29] zedoarye 1 lb., 2s. 6d. ; [30] Hermodactiles 5 lbs., 5s. od.

[31] Radix asari ½ lb., 12d. ; [32] Cortex tamarisci ½ lb., 8d. ; [33] Corse agarick ½ lb. 8d. ; [34] Radix ciclaminis 1 lb., 12d. ; [35] Semen cataputiae 3 lbs., 2s. od. ; [36] Doronicum ½ lb., 6d. ; [37] Gum tragagant 6 ozs., 9d. ; [38] Eleborus niger 12 ozs., 12d. ; [39] Agallochum 1 lb. 4 ozs., 2s. od. ; [40] Balanstia 1lb., 2s. 8d. ; [41] Piretrum 1lb. 4 ozs., 18d. ; [42] Nux vomica 1 lb., 12d. ; [43] umber 3½ lbs., 12d. ; [44] Pine kernells ½ lb., 6d. ; [45] Gum elemni 3 lbs., 2s. 6d. ; [46] Bitter almondes 2 lbs., 12d. ; [47] Euforbium 1 lb. 4 ozs., 12d. ; [48] fine mirre 12 ozs., 4s. od. ; [49] Labdanum 2½ lbs., 4s. od. ; [50] varmilon 4½ lbs., 12s. od. ; [51] Aristolochia rotunda 6 ozs., 6d. ; [52] Lignum balsamum 1 oz., 2d. ; [53] Castoreum ½ lb., 2s. 6d. ; [54] Folium indum 1 oz., 4d. ; [55] Sweet fenell seed 1 lb. 4 ozs., 10d. ; [56] Dictamnus creticus 1 lb., 12d. ; [57] Cantarides 1 lb., 3s. od. ; [58] Stavaker 2½ lbs., 15d. ; [59] Indian peper 1 lb., 12d. ; [60] Storax Calamita 7½ lbs., 37s. 6d.

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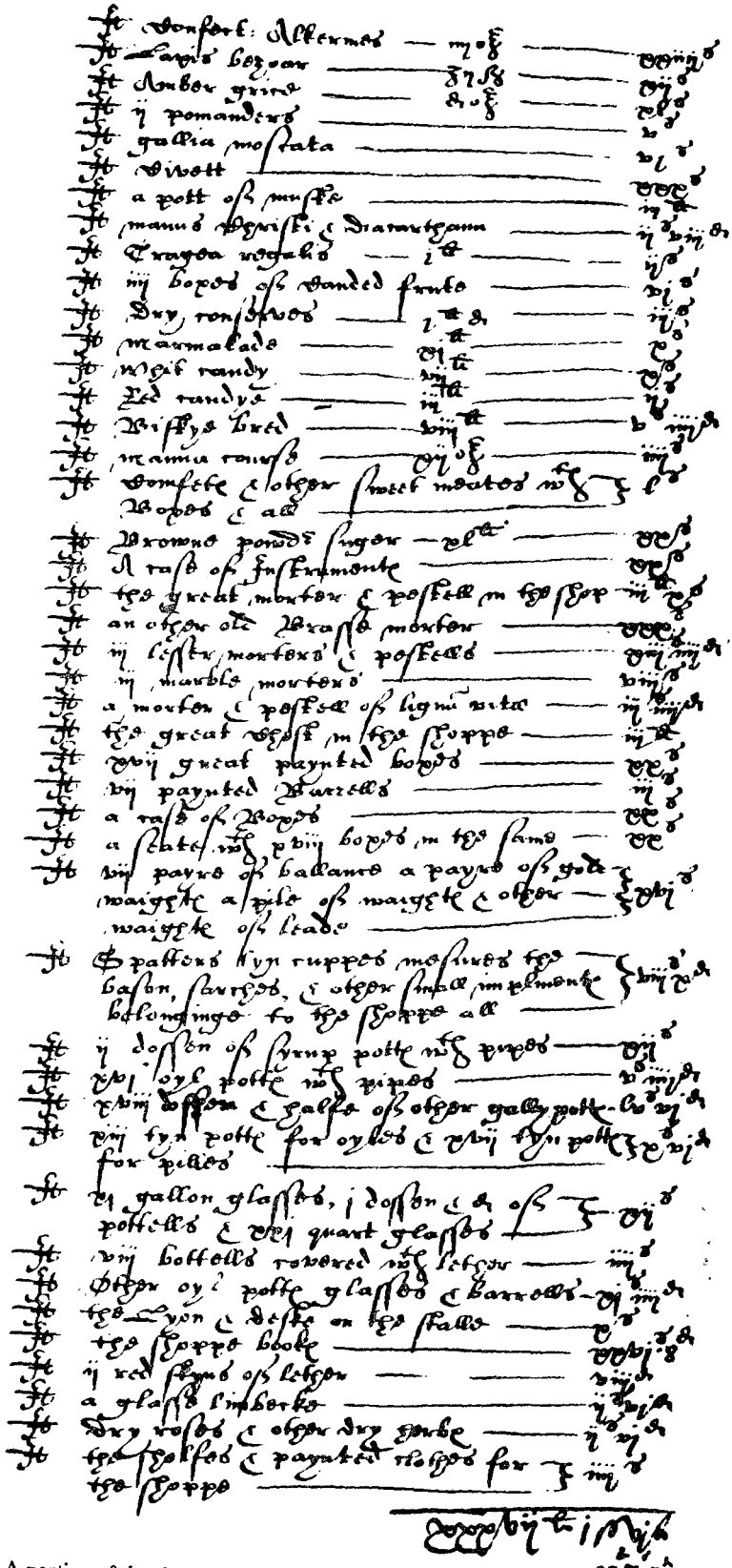

A portion of the shop inventory : Orphans Court inventories No. 62 ff 5-7.
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[61] Radix chine 4 lbs., 4s. od. ; [62] Galles 7 lbs., 3s. 6d. ; [63] Lignum rhodium 1lb. 6d. ; [64] Tornsoll 6 lbs., 7s. od. ; [65] whit waxe 2 lbs., 2s. 6d. ; [66] Lignum sassafras, 2½ lbs., 5s. od. ; [67] Ireos rootes 4 lbs., 20d. ; [68] foemigreke ½ cwt., 12s. od. ; [69] Bayberyes ½ cwt., 12s. od. ; [70] Commin seed 14 lbs., 5s. od. ; [71] Cassia fistula, 3s. 4d. ; [72] 2 barrells of turpentine, 12s. od. ; [73] Frankencense, 3s. 4d. ; [74] Sweet oyle 10 gallons, 33s. 4d. ; [75] Borace 10 ozs., 6s. 8d. ; [76] Fine boll & terra lemnia, 5s. 3d. ; [77] Gum hederae ½ lb., 3s. od. ; [78] lignum aloes 5 ozs., 5s. od. ; [79] Succinum 1 lb. 2 ozs., 2s. 6d. ; [80] Opoponax 5 ozs., 5s. od. ; [81] Opium 7½ ozs., 6s. 8d. ; [82] Gum sagapen 12 ozs., 3s. od. ; [83] Gum bedellium 10 ozs., 2s. 6d. ; [84] Lapis tutiae 1½ lbs., 5s. od. ; [85] Stibium, 2s. od. ; [86] Auripigmentum 7 lbs., 2s. 4d. ; [87] Terra sigillata 6 lbs., 2s. od. ; [88] Course tobacco, 2s. od. ; [89] Assafoetida 2 lbs., 4s. od. ; [90] Rewbarb 1 lb. 5½ ozs., £3. 6s. 8d.

[91] Turbithe 3 lbs. 12 ozs., 22s. 6d. ; [92] Sal armoniak 14 ozs., 3s. od. ; [93] Sandiver 4d. ; [94] Sall gerneri, 6d. ; [95] Mercury sublimatum 2 lbs., 6s. 8d. ; [96] Precipitat 1 lb., 6s. 8d. ; [97] Antimonium crudum 8 lbs., 2s. od. ; [98] Tamarindes 5 lbs., 5s. od. ; [99] Spiknard 1 oz., 6d. ; [100] Mechoacan 2 lbs. 4 ozs., 3s. 4d. ; [101] mirabolani omnes 7 lbs., 9s. od. ; [102] Scammoneum 3½ lbs., 61s. od. ; [103] Carranna 3 ozs., 18d. ; [104] Spice celtica 4 ozs., 8d. ; [105] Squinanthum 1 lb., 2s. od. ; [106] Sanguis draconis 3½ lbs., 12s. od. ; [107] Camphere 1 lb. 10 ozs., 12s. od. ; [108] lignum santali rubei 1½ lbs., 18d. ; [109] Terra merita 2 lbs. 4 ozs., 3s. 8d. ; [110] Gipsum 14 ozs., 12d. ; [111] Isinglas 7 lbs., 6s. 8d. ; [112] Origanum 1 lb., 12d. ; [113] Vardegres 14 lbs., 28s. od. ; [114] 4*or* seminum frig : ma : 4½ lbs., 4s. 6d. ; [115] Argentum vivum 8 lbs., 12s. od. ; [116] Venes turpentine, 2s. od. ; [117] Juniper, 4d. ; [118] Pulvis sanctus et hiera simp:, 5s. od. ; [119] Pillula omnes, 10s. od. ; [120] methridat 1½ lbs., 12s. 8d.

[121] Sucket 14 lbs., 11s. od. ; [122] Plasters & salves, 26s. 8d. ; [123] Syrupi omnes, 36s. od. ; [124] Conserves all, 18s. od. ; [125] Purgative electuaryes and other electuaryes in all, 52s. od. ; [126] Storax liquida 2 lbs., 2s. od. ; [127] Cortex guiaci 8 lbs., 2s. 8d. ; [128] Ciperus 6 lbs., 4s. od. ; [129] Fine Alloes 3½ lbs., 24s. od. ; [130] Course alloes 4 lbs., 13s. 4d. ; [131] Frenche Barley 8 lbs., 2s. od. ; [132] Nuces cupressi, 8d. ; [133] washing balles, 6d. ; [134] Tabacco pipes, 12d. ; [135] iiic of Fine gold & 1 booke of partye gold, 13s. od. ; [136] Agarik 1 lb. 3 ozs., 12s. od. ; [137] perfumes, 12d. ; [138] Salt peette 6 lbs., 4s. od. ; [139] Lignum vitae, 4s. od. ; [140] Capers 2 lb., 12d. ; [141] damaske powder, 2s od. ; [142] Oleum spicae 4 lbs., 12s. od. ; [143] Oleum tartari 4 lbs., 2s. 8d. ; [144] Varnishe, 3s. od. ; [145] Oleum terebintine 4 lbs., 4s. od. ; [146] for other common oyles in all, 30s. od. ; [147] In oyntmentes in all, 24s. od. ; [148] Oyl of mace, 6s. od. ; [149] A pott of pomatum, 2s. 6d. ; [150] Petroleum 2 lbs., 6s. od.

[151] Balsamum ½ lb., 12s. od. ; [152] a glasse of oyl of cloves, 10s. od. ; [153] Oyl of Annisseed of sulphur of vitreoll & origanum, 10s. 6d. ; [154] a pott of preservd nutmegs & another of mirabolans, 5s. od. ; [155]Greene ginger 6 lbs., 8s. od. ; [156] Other conserves, pottes & barrells, 5s. 4d. ; [157] Pulveres cordiales in all, 13s. 4d. ; [158] troscissi omnes, 2s. 8d. ; [159] A bottell of Cynamum water, 6s. od. ; [160] Rosa solus & aqua coelestis, 4s. od. ; [161] Bottells & glasses for the same, 4s. od. ; [162] the seedes in the case of boxes, 9s. od. ; [163] the simples in the case of boxes, £3. os. od. ; [164] other simples in the boxes of the counter, 5s. od. ; [165] destilled waters, 20s. od. ; [166] fragmentes of precious stones & ragges of perle, 4s. od. ; [167] Confect: Alkermes 4 ozs., 24s. od. ; [168] Lapis bezoar 12 ozs., 12s. od. ; [169] Amber grice ½ oz., 40s. od. ; [170] 2 pomanders, 5s. od. ; [171] gallia moscata, 6s. od. ; [172] Civett, 30s. od. ; [173] a pott of muske, £3. os. od. ; [174] Manus Christi & diacarthami, 2s. 8d. ; [175] Tragea regalis 1 lb., 2s. od. ; [176] 4 boxes of canded frute, 6s. od. ; [177] dry conserves 1½ lbs., 3s. od. ; [178] Marmalade 11 lbs., 10s. od. ; [179] whit candy 7 lbs., 10s. od. ; [180] Red candye

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3 lbs., 2s. od. ; [181] Biskye bred 8 lbs., 5s. 4d. ; [182] manna course 12 ozs., 4s. od. ; [183] Comfetes & other sweetmeates with Boxes & all, 50s. od. ; (184) Browne powder sugar 40 lbs., 20s. od.

[185] A case of Instrumentes, 20s. od. ; [186] the great morter & pestell in the shop, £3. 10s. od. ; [187] an other old Brasse morter, 30s. od. ; [188] 3 lesser morters & pestells, 13s. 4d. ; [189] 3 marble morters, 8s. od. ; [190] a morter & pestell of lignum vitae, 3s. 4d. ; [191] the great Chest in the shoppe, £3. 0s. od. ; [192] 17 great paynted boxes, 20s. od. ; [193] 7 paynted Barrells, 3s. od. ; [194] a case of Boxes, 20s. od. ; [195] a Seate with 18 boxes in the same, 20s. od. ; [196] 7 payre of ballances a payre of gold waightes a pile of waightes & other waightes of leade, 16s. od. ; [197] Spatters, tyn cuppes, mesures, the bason, sarches, & other small implementes belonginge to the shoppe all, 8s. 10d. ; [198] 2 dossen of syrup pottes with pipes, 12s. od. ; [199] 16 oyl pottes with pipes, 5s. 4d. ; [200] 18 dossen & halfe of other gally pottes, 55s. 6d. ; [201] 13 tyn pottes for oyles & 17 tyn pottes for pilles, 10s. 6d. ; [202] 11 gallon glasses, 1 dossen & half of pottells & 21 quart glasses, 12s. od. ; [203] 8 bottells covered *wth* lether, 4s. od. ; [204] Other oyl pottes glasses & barrells, 11s. 4d. ; [205] The Lyon & deske on the stalle, 10s. od. ; [206] the shoppe bookes, 26s. 8d. ; [207] 2 red skyns of lether, 8d. ; [208] a glasse limbecke 2s. 6d. ; [209] dry roses & other dry herbes, 2s. 6d. ; [210] the shelfes & paynted clothes for the shoppe, 4s. od. — £37. 1s. 6d.[36]

Summa totales of the Whole Inventorye	£324. 11s. 6d.
Whereof he dyd owe by specialties to Ignatius Jurden	£100. *os. od.*[37]
Item to M*r* Richard Dewe Phisition	£60. os. od.
Item to diverse Grosers in London for wares	£60. os. od.

Notes on Items

The following notes correspond to the items numbered in the shop inventory. The abbreviation P.L. refers to the *Pharmacopoeia Londinensis*, 1st edition of 1618, reproduced in facsimile, Madison, 1944. ' Tomlinson ' refers to *Renodaeus His Dispensatory Containing the Whole Body of Pharmacy*, Translated from the French by Richard Tomlinson, London, 1657.

[1] Lithargyrum P.L. or golden lithage ; [2] Calaminaris Lapis P.L. ; [3] Pompholyx sive Tuthia P.L. Produced by ignition of brass, Tomlinson ; [4] Chamaepitis P.L., a leaf ; [5] Isinglass, "which the Arabians call alcanna", Tomlinson ; [6] "Dore sewet ' is doubtful, but suggest doe or deer suet ; [7] Greek pitch. The P.L. has both Pix and Pix Navalis ; [8] Gum Sandarac P.L. or Gum Juniper ; [9] Glycyrrhizae Succus P.L., liquorice juice in solid form ; [10] Lignum Santali Albi P.L. or sandalwood ; [11] Grana Juniperus P.L., juniper berries ; [12] Olibanum P.L., frankinsense ; [15] Stoechados P.L. or French lavender flowers ; [14] Benzoin or Gum Benjamin. Some benzoin, from Sumatra or Siam reached the Doge of Venice in 1461 and Vasco da Gama notes it as a product of Siam. It became an article of Venetian trade at the beginning of the 16th century. A jar which formerly contained this drug (illustrated Trease, *Pharmacy in History* p. 97) bears the date 1562 and the name ' Belgivi '. Tomlinson describes it under ' Benzoin ' and the P.L. refers to ' assafoetida dulcis sive benzoin ' ; [15] Eleborus Albus P.L. ; [16] Mumia P.L. ; [17] Seeds of Cardamomum Maius & Cardamomum Minus P.L. ; [18] Galbanum P.L. ; [19] Carum or Caraway P.L. ; [20] Galanga Minor (Radix) P.L. ; [21] Calamus Odoratus (Radix) P.L. ; [22] Senna (Folium) P.L. ; [23] Gum Albi

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Animi, a resin resembling Elemi P.L. (see Flückiger and Hanbury, *Pharmacographia* (1879) 152-3) ; [24] Mastiche P.L., a resin ; [25] Epithema. The Mediaeval Latin Word List gives poultice or ointment of thyme. Tomlinson says ' some make no difference betwixt a foment and an epithema ' but elsewhere (p. 237) under the heading ' Of Dodder and Epithema ' he takes the view that these two paratitic plants ' differ not save that one grows on Line (i.e. flax), the other on Thyme ' ; [26] White copperas, white vitriol or impure zinc sulphate ; [27] Aristolochia Longa (Radix) P.L. ; [28] Colocynthis (Fructus) P.L. ; [29] Zedoaria (Radix) P.L. ; [30] Hermodactylus (Radix) P.L.

[31] Radix Asarum P.L. ; [32] Cortex Medius Tamaricis P.L. ; [33] Agaricus P.L. p. 278 under ' Plantarum Excrementa '. Probably the fungus white agaric, which grows on the larch ; [34] This root has not been identified ; [35] Castor Seeds or Semen Cataputiae Majoris, or Palma Christi Seeds. Not included in the P.L. although Turner (ca. 1568) grew the plant and refers to the oil ; [36] Doronicum (Radix) P.L. or leopard's bane ; [37] Tragacanthum P.L., tragacanth gum ; [38] Elleborus Niger (Radix) P.L., black hellebore ; [39] Agallochum is mentioned by Tomlinson who gives it as a synonym for Aloes Wood (see item 78). He says ' the tree is very rare, growing only in India ' ; actually it comes from China ; [40] Probably Balaustorium Flores P.L. ; [41] Possibly pears, which according to Tomlinson were sometimes dried and candied ; [42] Nux. Vomica. This seems to be one of the earliest references to these seeds in England although they were known in Germany and described by Valerius Cordus in 1540. Flückiger and Hanbury, *Pharmacographia*, 1879, p. 429, state that it was found in English shops in the time of Parkinson (1640) ; [43] Umber, an iron-containing earth used as pigment. Tomlinson mentions the closely related ochre ; [44] Pini Nucleus P.L. ; [45] Elemi P.L. a name applied to several oleo-gum-resins. In the 16th century it was probably derived from an African species of *Boswellia* ; [46] Amygdala Amara P.L. ; [47] Euphorbium P.L., a resin ; [48] Fine Myrrh, Myrrha P.L. ; [49] Ladanum P.L., the resin of *Cistus creticus*, used in a French royal funeral in 1316 ; [50] Vermilion, the red mercuric sulphide which occurs naturally as cinnabar ; [51] Aristolochia Rotunda (Radix) P.L. ; [52] Xilobalsamum (Ligni) P.L. or balsam wood ; [53] Castoreum P.L. from the beaver ; [54] Mal abathrum (Folium) P.L. Tomlinson gives ' Indian Leaf ' as synonym ; [55] Foeniculum (Semina) P.L. ; [56] Dictamnus Cretensis (Folia) P.L. ; [57] Cantharides or Spanish Flies. Tomlinson ; [58] Staphysagria (Semin) P.L. or stavesacre seeds, used from classical times for destroying vermin on the head ; [59] Indian Pepper is probably ordinary black pepper. The P.L. lists Piper album, P. longum and P. nigrum ; [60] Storax Calamita P.L.

[61] China Root, introduced to Europe as a syphilis remedy about 1545 ; [62] Galla P.L., galls ; used medicinally but also for tanning and making ink ; [63] Lignum Rhodium, a sweet-scented wood. Mentioned by K. Dewhurst in ' A Seventeenth Century Materia Medica ', *Acta Pharm. Hist.*, 1962, No. 3, 122 ; [64] From French tournesol, the colouring matter litmus. Adulteration was obviously practised and a seventeenth century apothecary says ' tersole comes from France and is onely rags soakt in red wine and dryd again ' (K. Dewhurst, *op. cit.*, p. 138) ; [65] Cera Alba P.L., white beeswax ; [66] Sassafras (Lignum) P.L. ; [67] Orris or Iris Root. The P.L. includes both ' Iris nostra sevulgaris ' and ' Iris florentina ' ; [68] Foenugraecum (Semina) P.L., fenugreek seeds ; [69] Bay laurel berries, which yield Oleum Laurinum P.L. ; [70] Cyminum (Semina) P.L., cummin, the fruits of *Cuminum cyminum*, a common spice ; [71] Cassia Fistula (Fructus) P.L. ; [72] Turpentine, the crude oleo-resin of pines, which when distilled yields common resin and oil of turpentine (item 145) ; [73] Olibanum P.L. or truef rankincense; [74] Sweet Oil, a synonym for olive oil, expressed from Oliva (Fructus) P.L. ; [75] Borax vel Baurach P.L. ; [76] Fine bole or Bolus Armenus P.L. ; and Lemnian earth or Terra Lemnia P.L. ; [77] Gum Hederae P.L. or ivy gum ; [78] Lignum aloes or aloe wood, see item 39. It was used medicinally and for embalming ; [79] Succinum P.L.

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or amber ; [80] Opoponax P.L., an oleo-gum-resin ; [81] Opium P.L. ; [82] Sagapenum or serapinum, an oleo-resin common in mediaeval pharmacy, but now virtually unobtainable ; [83] Gum Bdellium, an oleo-gum-resin, still occasionally found as an adulterant of myrrh. Tomlinson says ' There is so much affinity betwixt Myrrhe and Bdellium, that many think they do not differ ' ; [84] Pompholix sive Tuthia P.L., an impure zinc oxide but rather purer than Calaminaris Lapis P.L. or calamine. See items 2 and 3 ; [85] Stibium or Antimonium P.L. ; [86] Auripigmentum, naturally occuring arsenic sulphide. Included in the second issue of the 1618 P.L. ; [87] Terra Sigillata P.L. or sealed earth. Similar to Samian earth P.L. and to Armenian bole (item 76) and Lemnian earth (item 76) ; [88] Tobacco. This was noted by the Spaniards in Cuba in 1492 and was being grown in Europe about 1560 ; [89] Asafoetida P.L. ; [90] Rhabarbarum P.L. or rhubarb root. The first European to see the drug in China was Marco Polo. Note the high price of this drug.

[91] Turbith Minerale P.L., mercuric sulphate. The P.L. describes its preparation p. 166 ; [92] Sal-ammoniac, impure ammonium chloride ; [93] Probably mineral from its position in the list. Possibly sandaracha, an arsenic compound (not to be confused with sandarac resin) or sandix prepared from lead or cerussa (lead carbonate) by heating.; [94] Sal Gemmae P.L., common salt, but obtained from mines not the sea ; [95] Hydrargyrum Sublimatum P.L., mercury sublimate ; [96] Hydrargyrum Praecipitatum P.L., mercury precipitate ; [97] Antimonium P.L., antimony ore ; [98] Tamarindi [Fructus) P.L. ; [99] Spikenard. The P.L. has two spikenards, Nardus Indica and Nardus Celtica. Tomlinson ' when Spicknard is written without further addition it is alwayes meant of the Indian '. The celtic drug occurs below (item 104) ; [100] Mechoachana P.L. A Mexican drug which was introduced to England during Baskerville's lifetime. It closely resembled jalap which soon replaced it ; [101] This item includes more than one of the different, kinds of myrabolans included in the P.L., namely, Myrobalani Emblicae, Chebulae, Citrinae, Indae and Ballericae. These Indian ' plums ' were used as food (see pot of preserved myrobalans, item 154) or used for tanning ; [102] Scammonia P.L. scammonium, the dried purgative juice of scammony root ; [103] Caranna P.L. ; [104] Nardus Celtica, celtic spikenard (see item 99) ; [105] Scoenanthos (Flores) P.L., Schoenanthum or Squinant, Tomlinson ; [106] Sanguis Draconis P.L., dragon's blood resin ; [107] Camphor, P.L., the Chinese not Borneo variety ; [108] Lignum Santalum Rubrum P.L., red sanders wood ; [109] Terra Merita is probably a scribal error for Terra Melita, an earth from the Island of that name ; [110] Gypium P.L. or gypsum. Under the name gypsum, Tomlinson describes two kinds one used for making plaster and the other in plates ' which many call talc ' ; [111] Ichthyocolla P.L., isinglass, the swimming bladder of the sturgeon ; [112] Origanum (Folia), P.L. ; [113] Verdigris, Viride Aeris, P.L. ; [114] Quatuor Semina Frigida Maiora, P.L. These were the seeds of gourd, cucumber, melon and citrulla ; [115] Argentum Vivum sive Hydrargrum, quicksilver ; [116] Venice Turpentine, not from pine (see item 72) but from larch ; [117] Juniperus Grana P.L., juniper berries ; [118] Pulvis Sanctus, P.L., a powder of seven ingredients one of which was senna. Hiera Picra Simplex P.L. which contained aloes. Tomlinson says ' some purgative compounds were for their excellent effects, by the Greeks called Hierae, that is, Holy, and Great '. They almost invariably contained aloes, and had a bitter taste ; [119] All the pills. The P.L. gives 28 formulae ; [120] Mithridatium P.L. These much valued remedies, for which there were many formulae, derive their name from Mithridates King of Pontus (B.C. 132-63).

[121] Sucket, something to suck, e.g. sweets ; [122] Plasters and salves ; [123] Conserves, preparations containing flowers and sugar ; [124] Syrups ; [125] Electuries, ' which the antients called Antidotes ', Tomlinson, were either solid, and could be cut into lozenges, or liquid. The many ingredients usually included honey or sugar ;

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[126] Liquid or Turkish storax ; [127] Bark of guaiacum or lignum vitae ; [128] Cyperus (Radix) P.L. ; [129] Fine aloes ; [130] Coarse aloes ; [131] Barley grains deprived of outer coats or ' pearl Barley '. Used for making barley water. Hordeum P.L. ; [132] Cupressi Nux sive Gallae P.L., cypress nuts or cones ; [133] Tablets of soap, made by beating raspings of Castile soap in a mortar with aromatics such as orris root, lavender flowers and rose water ; [134] Clay tobacco pipes ; [135] Gold leaf in books for gilding. Three qualities were recognised ' fine or large ', ' shop ' and ' party ', the lower qualities as at present containing some copper and silver. The values *ca.* 1670 per hundred sheets were respectively 7s. 10d., 5s. and 2s. 6d. (K. Dewhurst, ' A Seventeenth Century Materia Medica ', *Acta Pharm. Hist.*, 1962, No. 3, 117) ; [136] Agaricus P.L. larch agaric ; [137] Perfumes at this period were often solids, intended to be heated like incense ; [138] Sal Petrae P.L. saltpeter or salnitre, an ingredient of gunpowder. Much of the early gunpowder seems to have been supplied by apothecaries ; [139] Guaiacum P.L. a syphilis remedy. Compare items 127 and 190 ; [140] Capers, the flower buds of *Capparis spinosa* preserved in brine or vinegar.; [141] Damask powder was also known as Cyprian powder and violet powder. It contained sweet flag, orris, storax, benzoin, roses and other scented ingredients ; [142] Oil of spike or lavender, Oleum Florum Lavandulae, P.L. ; [143] Oleum Tartari P.L. ; [144] Varnish, presumably of the rosin-turpentine type ; [145] Oleum Terebinthinae P.L., oil of turpentine as distinct from crude turpentine, item 72 ; [146] Common oils of the P.L. Could include a long list of vegetable, mineral and chemical origin ; [147] Ointments are represented in the P.L. by 42 formulae ; [148] Oleum Macis P.L., oil of mace ; [149] Pomate, pomade or hairdressing ; [150] Petroleum, which Tomlinson spells Petreoleum and gives the synonym Oyl of Peter. He describes it as coming from the bowels of the earth.

[151] Probably Opobalsamum P.L. although the term balsam was already beginning to acquire its present generic meaning. See item 52 ; [152] Oleum Caryophillorum P.L. or oil of cloves ; [153] Oleum Anisi P.L. or oil of aniseed ; Oleum Sulphuris P.L. ; Oleum Vitrioli P.L. ; and Oleum Origani P.L. ; [154] The absence from the inventory of dried nutmegs is noteworthy. For myrabolans see item 101. The P.L. included both preserved fruits, namely Condita Nuces Moschatae P.L. and Condita Myrobalanorum Quinquegenera P.L. ; [155] Green ginger was ginger preserved in syrup ; [156] Conserves were preparations made with flowers or similar materials and an equal or greater amount of sugar, e.g. rose sugar, violet sugar ; [157] Powders were generally administered as electuaries but were not made into this form until required owing to their poor keeping properties ; [158] Trochisci or lozenges ; [159] Cinnamon water, Aqua Cinamomi P.L. ; [160] Aqua Roris Solis vulgo dicta Rosa Solis P.L. ; Aqua Coelestis Mathioli P.L. ; [165] The term water is rather misleading. The waters of the P.L. included Aqua Vitae P.L. the equivalent of brandy and Usquebach P.L. which has been described as an Irish cordial made of brandy ; [166] Margarita P.L. pearls, and other precious stones are included in the P.L. ; [167] Confectio Alkermes P.L., a preparation of Arab origin coloured with the red, cochineal-like substance, kermes ; [168] Lapis Bezoar Orientalis P.L., these bezoar stones were said to be obtained from the intestines of wild goats found in the mountains of Persia ; [169] Ambra Grisea P.L. or ambergris, a substance formed in the intestine of whales. Note the high price ; [170] Solid perfume balls. Tomlinson describes their preparation ; [171] The word gallia puzzled us until we read Tomlinson on ' Trochisci Galliae Moschata '. He says ' the word gallia no little troubled Jac. Manlius in seeking to accomodate the reason of that name to these Trochisks '. The formula derives from Mesuë and contains no nutmegs, the ingredients being aloes wood, amber, musk, tragacanth and rose water ; [172] Zibethum or civet of the second issue of the P.L. 1618 ; [173] Moscus P.L., musk. Note the high price ; [174] The name *palma* Christi is a synonym for the castor oil plant which was well known in Elizabethan times ; *manus* Christi is quite different and is described by Tomlinson under ' Tables or Tabuletts '.

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He says ' those tabells they call Manus Christi are nothing else but saccharum rosatum ', i.e. rose sugar. Manus Christi Simplex P.L. The second preparation mentioned is Diacarthami P.L. ; [175] Tragea regalis was probably a solid confection or condite. Tomlinson says ' Those Delicates which the Confectioners call *Tragemata*, i.e. Junkets, may be referred to solid Condites, for they are prepared by the help of fire and the addition of sugar ; [176] Candied fruit ; [177] See item 156 ; [178] Marmalade was presumably something of a rarity in Elizabethan times. In Tomlinson it is indexed p. 171 as ' marmeled ' but we cannot find it in the text although p. 169 *et seq.* deal with condites or preserves ; [179] White sugar-candy or Saccharem Candum P.L. ; [180] Red sugar-candy, made from less pure red or brown sugar ; [181] Sweet biscuits. Tomlinson writes of ' panis biscoctus ' and says ' Those little long masses of bread which are confected of flower and thrice or four times as much sugar, with a little Coriander, and a small portion of eggs subacted together are commonly called Biscakes : but I would not put my sickle into another mans harvest therefore I will leave these sweet breads to the confectioners ' ; [182] Manna P.L., ash manna.

[185] Presumably surgical instruments ; [186] These mortars were made by the makers of church bells ; of the same alloy ; and frequently inscribed with the date, maker's name, and name or initials of the apothecary. Large ones weighed a hundredweight or more and to make pounding easier the pestle was supported from the roof and sprung so that the operator (usually the apprentice) did not have to lift the full weight. The powdering of large quantities of drugs was a noisy and dusty task which one might expect would be done away from customers. The large mortar was, however, an emblem of the apothecary and was kept in view. Tomlinson says ' They must have also a straight Log, which for ornament may be engraven with several images, to under-set their greatest Mortar ' ; [189] Marble mortars served the same purposes as the Wedgwood mortars which have now replaced them ; [190] Lignum vitae or the wood of guaiacum (see items 127 and 139) is very hard, heavy and durable. Being self lubricating it was particularly good for pulleys and sailing tackle. Mortars made from it must have been of fairly recent introduction and Tomlinson, who refers to 12 materials used for mortars, does not refer to its employment in this way. The first record of guaiacum in English was in 1533 but the tree was seen by the Spaniards in St. Domingo in 1514 ; [196] The balances would consist of a beam from which a pair of pans were suspended by cords. Small ones could be held in the hand whilst weighing but larger ones were suspended. Tomlinson writes ' Over the counter there should hang a certain instrument, fastened to the beams with nails, not unlike a T inverted : in the interiour part whereof, wooden or iron nails should be fastened, *whereon Scales of diverse magnitudes*, Tongs, Spatulas and other instruments should be suspended '. The second item was doubtless a ' gold-balance ', which we also find in an unpublished 1607 inventory of Richard Beresford, apothecary of Lincoln (Lincolnshire Record Office). This could be used for the accurate weighing of drugs such as pearls or for checking the weight of gold and silver coins ; [197] These items, taken with item 196 and a bench or table, suffice for many small scale pharmaceutical operations. The word ' sarches ' means sieves. Tomlinson writes ' both husbandmen and apothecaries use this instrument to separate the flower from the bran, *which the vulgar call a searce*, or sieve '. The 1607 inventory of Richard Beresford, apothecary includes ' one lawn searce with two hayre searces 5/-. Commonly used materials for sieves were horse-hair, flax and silk ; [198] & [199] These syrup and oil pots with spouts were probably Delft-ware ; first made in the Netherlands about 1520 and introduced by Dutch potters to Lambeth about 1571. Pharmacy pots, with and without spouts, are found in many museums ; [200] Gallipot, small earthen glazed pot ; [201] Tin containers for drugs were common (particularly for aromatic ingredients) ; [202] Glass bottles containing a gallon, perhaps of the globular carboy shape ; [203] Pot holding half a gallon (M. Cash, *Devon Inventories*, 1966) ; the leather covering presumably to

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reduce the danger of breakage ; [205] Doubtful, but possibly a stall was sometimes erected outside the shop. The Lion may have been a trade-sign comparable with the alligator mentioned by Shakespeare ; the inventory of Richard Beresford actually included ' allegator price 2/- '. The desk on the stall may have served both for writing and as a till ; [206] Possibly only account books, but Baskerville almost certainly had a herbal ; [207] The practice of tying a cap of sheep skin over stoppered bottles of perfumes etc. has only died out in the present generation. These red skins of leather may have been used for a similar purpose ; [208] An alembic still made of glass ; [210] Painted cloths were wall hangings, usually canvas, for decoration (M. Cash, *Devon Inventories*, 1966). Perhaps in the case of a shop they included an awning for the stall and the equivalent of a dispensing screen.

Notes and References

1. Roberts, R.S., ' The Personnel and Practice of Medicine in Tudor and Stuart England ', *Med. Hist.*, 1962, VI, p. 371 ; ' The Apothecary in the 17th Century ', *Pharm. J.*, 1962, 189, 505.
2. Many Devonshire wills and inventories were destroyed when the Exeter Probate Office was bombed in 1942. Those which survive have been published by Miss M. Cash as *Devon Inventories of the 16th and 17th Centuries*, Devon and Cornwall Record Society, 1966. This collection contains only one inventory of an apothecary, that of Nicholas Cooke of Barnstaple 1694-5. The inventory of Thomas Baskerville, which was in the City Archives, reference *Orphan's Court Inventories*, 62, escaped damage.
3. Simpson, R. R., *Shakespeare and Medicine*, Edinburgh, 1959.
4. Hoskins, W. G., *Old Devon*, Newton Abbot, 1966, p. 78.
5. Roberts, R. S., *Med. Hist.* 1962, VI, p. 370.
6. Izacke, R., *Remarkable Antiquities of the City of Exeter*, London, 1681, p. 134.
7. St. Petrock Parish Registers.
8. *ECM*, Book 55, 3 Sept. 1548. The name is given as John Baskerfyld, an alternative spelling which is found in both the Exeter and Ashwater parish registers. Thomas' will has Barskervilde.

   MacCaffrey, W. T., in *Exeter 1540—1640*, Harvard, 1958 p. 259, describes Griffith Ameredith : ' A member of a proud but impoverished Welsh house, he sought to recoup his fortunes in the wars in France, but finding this unprofitable, took his pride in his hands and set up as a tailor in Exeter, preserving, however, the connections in good society to which his birth entitled him. He prospered and was able to enter the more dignified trade of draper merchant. Soon his wealth enabled him to invest in land, to send his son to Oxford and the Inns of Court, and to rise in the municipal hierarchy before death, in 1557, cut short his successes just as his turn as mayor came round '.
9. St. Mary Major parish registers.
10. St. Mary Major was also known as St. Mary More and St. Mary Michel. *Historic Towns, Exeter*, edited by E. A. Freeman, London, 1887, p. 63.
11. Youings, J. in *Tuckers Hall Exeter*, 1968, p. 79 gives the length of Apprenticeship of nineteen apprentices of the Exeter Company of Weavers, Fullers and Shearsmen in the period 1615—1634 ; seven served 7 years, six 8 years, five 9 years, and one until the age of 24. The legal minimum in Elizabethan times was seven years. In the records of the Society of Apothecaries of London a term frequently mentioned is eight years.

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12. John Hele became free in 1559 having been an apprentice of Thomas Lambert ; Lambert had been made free in 1531 as apprentice of William Forest. ECM Book 55.

    Youings *op. cit.*, p. 69 mentions that when John Dinham, weaver, died in 1583 (*Orphan's Court Inventory* 31) John Heale, apothecary, charged 5/- ' for potycary stuffe for hym '. John Dinham lived in St. Pauls just inside the North Gate.
13. *ECM*, Book 55, f. 130 b.
14. Almost but not quite identical are the maps in W. G. Hoskins *Two Thousand Years in Exeter*, 1960, p. 56, labelled ' Exeter in 1587 (Hogenberg's Map) ' and the map in *Historic Towns, Exeter*, labelled ' From Braun's and Hogenberg's Civitatis Orbis Terrarum ', lib vi (1618).
15. Hooker's *History of Exeter* (3 vols.), Devon and Cornwall Record Society, 1919 & 1947, under St. Mary the More.

    ' Thomas Baskervyle in the reversion of Edyeth his wyffe holdeth the vii tent by Indenture Dated the xvii Septembre in the xxxiii yere of the queenes Matie for term of lviii yere and by the rent of 33s. 4d.' (p. 702).

    ' The Assignes of Edwarde Bridgman holde one tenement in Racke lane nowe in the occupacion of Thomas Baskervill sett lyenge and beinge betwene the lande of John Blackaller in the North, the land of the heyres of Bridgman in the West and South and the sayed Rack Lane in the East which tenement Conteyninge in length xxix foote and in bredth xviii foote by Indenture dated the xx of Maye in the iiii yere of Queen Elizabeth (1561-2) for lviii yeres by the rent of 5s.' (p. 743).
16. *ECM*, Book 55, f. 182 a.
17. *ECM*, Inventory 51 : *ECM* subsidy rates 1593—1596.
18. Izacke, R., *op. cit.*, p. 139.
19. Many of the new drugs were first described by Nicholas Monardes (1493—1588) physician of Seville. His book published in Spanish in 1569 was translated into Latin by Charles de l'Ecluse in 1574. It was then translated into English, in 1579, by John Frampton (? of Frampton, Dorset) a trader, who as he himself says was ' home into Englande out of Spaine, and not now pressed with the former toiles of my old trade '. The translation appeared under the title *Joyfull Newes out of the newe founde Worlde.* It was reprinted in the Tudor Translation Series (2nd series), No. 9 and 10, London, 1925.
20. The inventory of Nicholas Cooke, apothecary, of Barnstaple, similarly contained ' one old large Mapp of the world and one little Mapp ' and ' a parcell of old Bookes 5/-'. All Baskerville's books may not have been included in the inventory. Some may have been given or acquired by the men who took the inventory or have been reserved for the use of the eldest son Simon, then at Oxford, or the youngest son Thomas who eventually became an apothecary. The reading of herbals and similar works was not confined to apothecaries and physicians. W. G. Hoskins in *Old Devon*, p. 95, notes that the books of Thomas Prestwood the younger (inventory 1576) included William Turner's herbal.
21. Henry Elliott was made free in 1587/8. He was a defendant in the Star Chamber Case (R. S. Roberts, *op. cit.*) which resulted from the illness of Sir William Courtenay in 1603. When Elliott died in 1624 Thomas Baskerville junior was one of the overseers of the will.
22. Portman, D., *Exeter Houses* 1400—1700, Exeter, 1966.
23. *Renodaeus His Dispensatory Containing the Whole Body of Pharmacy*, translated from the French by Richard Tomlinson, apothecary, London, 1657.
24. Matthews, L. G., *The Royal Apothecaries*, London, 1967, p. 81.
25. *Pharmacopoeia Londinensis* 1618 (1st issue) reproduced in Facsimile, Madison, 1944.
26. The Orphans Court resulted from a royal charter granted to Exeter in 1560. Baskerville's will only mentions his two children who were under age and the estate was managed by the corporation on behalf of the widow and these younger children.

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The Orphan's Court was of great advantage to the corporation since it provided them with a steady flow of capital which they could use until the children were of age.

27. As mentioned in note 10, St. Mary Michells was an alternative name for St. Mary Major. This bequest seems small even by Elizabethan standards but Thomas would realise that his own debts were relatively large. Recipients of poor relief in Exeter received from 4d. to 8d. per week in 1564-5 (W. T. MacCaffrey, *op. cit.*).
28. At this period widows often reverted to their maiden name. No record of the marriage of Joan Basill to Thomas' father has been found, but the name Basill does occur in 16th century Exeter.
29. The two children mentioned, Richard and Thomas junior, would be aged respectively about 17 and 16 or less ; Thomas junior may well have been as young as about 12 since his apprenticeship was not completed until twelve years after his father's death. Richard is again mentioned in the Exeter records in 1617 when he and his elder brother, Simon, supported a petition to the mayor (Ignatius Jourdain, their brother-in-law) regarding the New Inn (*Trans. Devon. Ass.*, 1880, 399). Thomas Baskerville junior was apprenticed to Thomas Flay, apothecary, and was made free in 1608-9, without fine (*ECM*, book 55, f. 192 b). Thomas junior gave evidence in the Star Chamber case (*Star Chamber* 8/130/12 ff 56) between Exeter physicians and apothecaries. This case is described by R. S. Roberts, *Med. Hist.*, 1962, VI, 373). Thomas died in 1623 and was buried in St. Mary Major.

Before her father's death Elizabeth Baskerville had married Ignatius Jourdain (1561—1640), mercer, a man famous in Exeter history. The marriage was on 5 August 1593 in St. Mary Arches. Jourdain had three children by his first wife and fourteen by Elizabeth. He was an ardent Puritan, several times mayor and M.P. for Exeter. For details of his life see *DNB* and *Trans. Devon. Ass.*, 1929, 210. Baskerville died owing his son-in-law £100.

Simon Baskerville (1574—1641), was at the time of his father's death twenty-two years of age and at Oxford (B.A. 1596). His career is well known (see W. Monk, *Roll of the Royal College of Physicians*, London, 1878, Vol. 1, p. 158) and his will has been located and is being transcribed by R. S. Roberts. After qualifying at Oxford in medicine he practiced in London and was in turn physician to James I and Charles I. He was knighted and had such a successful practice that he became known as ' Sir Simon the Rich '. He was active in the preparation of the first London Pharmacopoeia of 1618. He was buried in St. Pauls. Unlike his brother-in-law, Ignatius Jourdain, who was such a puritan that he expostulated with James I himself on the latter's book defending Sunday sports and recreations, Sir Simon was a catholic. In 1626 the College of Physicians were obliged to name any papists known to them and among the names was that of Simon. ' It appears the college was not alarmed either for itself or for the catholic law breakers and nothing unpleasant happened to any of them ' (Sir George Clark, *A History of the Royal College of Physicians of London*, London, 1964, Vol. I, p. 246).
30. Richard Perrye lived in the parish of St. Petrock where he was rated at £4 (*ECM*, Subsidy Rates 1593-6). He had a tenement on High Street bounded on the south by South Street (Hooker, *op. cit.*, p. 720) and was a member of the Company of Merchant Adventurers of Exeter. (*ECM*, Court Book of the Company of Merchant Adventurers, April, 37 Eliz. [1595]).
31. Hugh Crossing, merchant, who died in 1621 must be distinguished from Hugh Crossing his grandson who died in 1629. Our Hugh was a consul of the Merchant Adventurers in 1593 (*Court Book of the Merchant Adventurers*). In 1595 he was rated the relatively large sum of £10 in St. Mary Major. He was a bailiff in 1594 and 1603 ; and mayor in 1609 and 1620. His son Francis, later described as gentleman, was not of age in 1606. (A Calendar of the Records and Monuments of the City of

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Exeter by S. A. Moore (1863—1870), Vol. 1, p. 436). Hugh left bequests to found a hospital or working house.

32. Hugh Morrell (or Morell), merchant, was a member of the Merchant Adventurers in 1593 (*Merchant Adventurers Court Book*). In 1595 he was rated £4 in the parish of St. Mary Major. Four of his children were baptised in St. Mary Major between 1593 and 1605. He was a bailiff in 1601 and in 1608 he petitioned the Lord High Treasurer of England regarding the excessive fees charged on corn imported through Topsham.
33. Members of the Salter family practised as apothecaries in Exeter and Crediton for about 150 years. Our Anthony was an apothecary who after 1622 was also licensed to practise surgery. His apprentices recorded in the Exeter list of freemen were John Vinicombe (1618), Michael Salter (1629), William Jourdain (1639) and Richard Pidsley (1658). He married Ann Lucas at St. Mary Arches in 1595. Their son, also called Anthony, was a well-known Exeter physician who married Gartered Acland at St. Olaves in 1629. This apothecary was bailiff in 1612 and in the lay subsidy rolls of 1602, 1628 and 1629 is rated in All Hallows Goldsmith Street, St. Petrock and St. Martin.

    Since the inventory of the shop is obviously written by someone having pharmaceutical knowledge this is probably in the hand of Anthony Salter. The different handwriting of the inventory of the house is probably that of Hugh Crossing or Hugh Morrell.
34. Carricke, probably a kind of foreign crockery (Cash, M., *op. cit.*, p. 180).
35. His debts to Ignatius Jordain, Dr. Drewe and the London grocers are given at the end of the inventory of drugs in shop.
36. This total applies to the last page of the inventory only. The true total for the shop of £97. 7s. 11d. actually appears on the inventory in minute Arabic numbers.
37. For Ignatius Jourdain, see note 29. Richard Dewe was an Exeter physician and Roberts (*Med. Hist.*, 1962, VI, 375), says, ' There is an indication, difficult to prove that some apothecaries were set up in business by means of loans from physicians ', He records two other examples of Exeter apothecaries owing substantial sums to physicians. The Grocers Company of London included apothecaries among its members until they received their own charter in 1617. The London grocers referred to are therefore apothecaries dealing wholesale in pharmaceutical commodities.

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THE DIAGNOSIS, CARE AND TREATMENT OF LEPROSY IN WALES AND THE BORDER IN THE MIDDLE AGES*

by John Cule

Ni bydd atglaf o glafwr

' A leper has no convalescence ' is a free translation of the Welsh proverb which seems to sum up all the poignancy of the history of this disease.[1] Leprosy in Britain was believed to have become widespread before the number of sufferers was drastically reduced, but not altogether eliminated, by the Black Death. The morbidity, greatest in the thirteenth century, was believed to be declining by the end of the fourteenth.[2] There were probably still a few endemic cases to be found until the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries but, by the nineteenth century, the disease was no longer indigenous. Statistics, however, are non-existent and confirmation of the above impressions is not at present readily available.

The name of leper in history has included sufferers from more diseases than that understood by leprosy in modern terminology ; and Hansen's disease has been known by more names than that of leprosy. In the Middle Ages the idea of a collection of signs and symptoms to describe a disease entity was appreciated ; but by the limitations of available knowledge this could not have been developed to the point of any great specificity in diagnosis. A disease of serious prognosis with very distinctive characteristics, such as leprosy, was easily recognisable, particularly in its late stages ; although suspicions of the diagnosis could be hazarded before the mutilations of the advanced disease appeared. Suspects, previous to their enforced separation from the community, were required to be examined for unmistakable signs by reputable citizens, who were not necessarily physicians. These examiners, even when they were physicians, were not aware of the true nature either of disease processes or of contagion.

In mediaeval times there were two schools of thought in relation to the spread of disease. The contagionists believed that disease was contracted by contact with an individual suffering from it, or by contact with things in his possession, or by proximity to him—when his breath or even his glances could contaminate. Although superficially nearer the truth, this had no more or less of a scientific basis than the view of the miasmatists, who following Galen's idea in *De Febrium Differentiis*, con-

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sidered the spread of disease to be due to miasma. By this term, they meant that noxious effluvia carried infection on the breezes, from such sources as rotting corpses on battlefields. Contagio-miasmatists felt there was truth in both concepts. Perhaps the most remarkable theorist was Gerolamo Fracostoro (Fracostorius of Verona, 1478—1553) who in *De Contagione et Contagiosis Morbis Eorumque Curiatone* of 1546 described infection by direct contact. And in a second group, containing leprosy, included infection by contact with fomites, such as clothes and linen ; for although not themselves corrupt they fostered the ' essential seeds ' of the contagion. A third group infected at a distance, as well as by the other methods. His full descriptions, based on observation and conjecture, read almost as though he were aware both of the nature of bacterial germs, and of their specificity.

Probably it was not only the desire to avoid contagion of this sort that formulated the public attitude. The horror of the sight of the mutilated leper and the consequent misery to which his disabilities reduced him, encouraged people to avoid such an unpleasant reminder that others could become like him. An idea of the transmissibility of the condition was nevertheless appreciated. It had been voiced even in very much earlier times by Aretaeus of Cappadocia (A.D. 150—200).

> *Itaque cum hujus modi sint, quis non eos defugiat, aut quis non aversetur, licet ipsorum vel pater sit, vel filius, vel frater ? siquidem metus etiam subest, ne vitium ex contagione communicetur. Propterea multi in montes ac deserta viros amicissimos exposuere.*[3]
>
> And since [those infected with this disease] are like this, who would not shun them, or who would not turn away in disgust, even if he were a father, or a son, or a brother ? Since there is a fear lest the disease should be passed on by contact. Hence many have banished men that were dearest to them into mountains and deserts.

Aretaeus had known the disease as *elephantiasis*, because its aspect was thought to be like the beast of the same name. Greek physicians used this term so it became lengthened to *elephantiasis Aretaeus* or *elephantiasis graecorum.*

About 200 B.C., confusion was introduced into the nomenclature of this disease. It seems to have been made by the translators of the Septuagint and perpetuated in the Vulgate some six hundred years later. Modern scholars are aware that it is of the greatest importance to use in translation a word of exact identity of meaning with the word in the original. Where this is not possible, because of the absence of an exact equivalent in the other language, it becomes very important not to choose a word similar in meaning, but having different associations. Wherever practicable, a word equal both in denotation and connotation must be found. Failing that, it is better to transcribe the original word untranslated. The history of the word ' leprosy ' shows what a profound

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influence on society's attitude to the leper, in subsequent ages, came about as a result of such a mistranslation in the Bible.

The account of 'leprosy' in *Leviticus*, Chapters 13 and 14, deals exclusively with the diagnosis, by the priest, of a skin condition. He was to examine in order to determine whether the sufferer was clean or unclean. If the King James translation of Chapters 13, 14 and 15 of *Leviticus* is considered as a whole, it will be seen that the consideration of uncleanness, in its various manifestations, seemed to be the primary concern. The Hebrew word used to denote the unclean skin condition was *tsara 'ath*, a word which is of religious significance, implying the stigma of punishment by God.[4,5,6] The skin condition described in *Leviticus*, even allowing for the possibility of changes in disease virulence and clinical manifestations since Biblical times, does not have any points of resemblance with the descriptions of modern leprosy. The Bible translators had been faced with the problem of finding a Greek translation of the Hebrew *tsara 'ath* and they chose the word *lepra*, which the Greeks themselves had used generally for a scaly skin condition, such as psoriasis.

Before considering the later implications of this translation—which would have been better served by transposing *tsara 'ath*—it has been suggested that a further complication arose from a confusion over the identity of Lazarus in the *New Testament*. Gramberg states that if Lazarus, the beggar covered with sores who lay outside the rich man's gate, had *tsara 'ath*, he would not have laid anywhere except outside the city gate ! St. Luke in Chapter 16 of the King James translation, does not mention leprosy. This addition is said to have been the responsibility of Origen and the early Church fathers, who in describing Lazarus as having *lepra*, may have meant the Greek sort. Did this Lazarus become wrongly identified with the other Lazarus of Bethany, loved by Jesus, the brother of Mary and Martha and who was raised from the dead (*St. John*, Chapter 11) ? Some authorities have regarded Lazarus of Bethany and Simon 'the leper' as one and the same person. The Greek word *lepra* which had originally meant a relatively harmless skin condition, as a result of further translation errors appears to have become transmogrified to leprosy (see below), bringing to it the shame and uncleanness of *tsara 'ath*. Lazarus of Bethany became the patron saint of many leper hospitals and the origin of the eponym lazar. Leper hospitals were sometimes dedicated to Lazarus and his sisters, Martha and Mary. Later, by common usage the title was often shortened to St. Mary Magdalen, giving rise to the eponym maudlen.

From the end of the fourth century A.D. until the fifteenth century, the Persians of the Arabic School (so called because the written language was Arabic) provided an important repository of medical knowledge. J. Y. Simpson stated that the disease of *elephantiasis graecorum* was diagnosed and known by these Persians as *judham*. They were said to have known an

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entirely different disease from *elephantiasis graecorum* by the name of elephant disease, *das fil* (now called elephantiasis—*filariasis bancrofti*). Later, according to Simpson, during the Renaissance nearly all the Latin translators of the Arabic, because of the common denominator elephant, wrongly believed *das fil* to refer to the same ' elephant disease ' as *elephantiasis graecorum*. They were further to complicate the picture by translating *judham*, the Arabic term for Hansen's disease (or *elephantiasis graecorum*) into *lepra*, the Greek term for the scaly skin disease. The end result was that *elephantiasis graecorum* then became known also as *lepra arabum*, which in modern terminology is the leprosy, synonymous with Hansen's disease.[7] The definitive study of the philology of this change, and the accuracy of the above observations, must await the publication of the critical texts in Arabic and Latin.

It is without doubt important to distinguish *lepra arabum* or *judham* (*elephantiasis graecorum*, *lepra tuberculosa ;* Hansen's disease) which is the same as modern leprosy, from *lepra graecorum* (*lepra vulgaris, lepra squamosa*) which is a skin disease not akin to leprosy.

This confusion, although it became widespread, was originally one of nomenclature. The Jews of Jerusalem today prefer to call their modern leprosy hospital the Hospital for Hansen's Disease, rather than by its former, older name of the Hospital for Tsara 'athish. The shame of *tsara 'ath* is greater than the fear of the illness of leprosy.[8] Sigerist believed that it was this confusion between the biblical instruction for the uncleanness of *tsara 'ath* (perpetuated apparently in modern Hebrew) and Hansen's disease, which resulted in the segregation of the mediaeval leper.

The words *elephantiasis graecorum* and *lepra arabum* were still in use in the seventeenth century, and later, as terms for Hansen's disease ; *Elephantiasis* and *lepra* in Dr. John Davies's dictionary are translated by similar lists of Welsh words.[9] This 1632 *Dictionarium Duplex* gives *Lepra* as *Brêch yr Iuddewon* (Jews' Pox), *y gwahan-glwyf, y clwy gwahanol, y clawr gwahanol* (the separation sickness), *y clwyf mawr* (the great sickness) and *y tardd gwahanol* (the separation eruption). There is to be found under *Elephantia : Elephantiasis : Elephas—Y clwyf mawr, y clwyf gwahanol, y clefri mawr, gwahan-glwyf, brêch yr Iuddewon.*

Dr. John Davies's dictionary was based on the earlier manuscript dictionary of Syr Thomas Wiliems, a practising physician of the sixteenth century. Mr. Gerallt Harries has kindly allowed me to use his transcript of Wiliems's Latin Welsh Dictionary, *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae et Cambro brytannicae* which is to be found in Peniarth MS 228. It gives under *Lepra : Brech yr Iudheon, y Gwahanglwyf, Clefri Gwahanol, Y Clwyf Mawr ;* under *Leprosus—Clawr, Claf gwahanol, vn ar Clwyf mawr arno, ar Tardh gwahanol ;*[10] under *Elephantia, -ae, siue Elephantiasis, -is, et Elephas : Y Clwyf mawr, yn hanvot or Melancholi, Choler ne'r Phlegm wedy lhosgi'n anveitrawl, ag a wna'r croen yn arw mal yr Elephant o liw, a mannae dûleision, a marwdon sych*

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hosgedic a chlawr y Gwahanglwyf, y Clefri gohanawl. Or awr y ganet y dalh, wynepclawr oedh.

His description of *elephantiasis* may be translated as ' Leprosy arising from black bile, [yellow] bile or phlegm having caused great overheating, and which makes the skin rough and like the elephant in colour, and blueblack blemishes, and eruptions dry, burned and leprous '. Terms equated by Wiliems with *elephantiasis* must have been clearly understood by him to refer to *elephantiasis graecorum* (Hansen's disease).

The sixteenth century Peniarth MS 204 on page 197 reads, *rrac y frech ffrengic eraill ai geilw y frech yr iddewon er raill ai gweilw (sic) y frech fawr.* (for the French pox, others call it Jews' pox and others the great pox). This nomenclature suggests syphilis for *brech yr Iddewon*, and thus caution in equating it specifically with *lepra arabum* (Hansen's disease).

Salesbury's *Testament Newydd* (1567) had used *clefri*, *gohanglwyf* and *clwy mawr*.[11] For *clafri* the *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru* gives alternative translations of scab, scurf, scabby disease, mange, soreness and affiiction. And for *clafr* (*clafwr*, *clafor*, *clawr*), a leper, or literally a sick man, the list is extended to scabies, erysipelas (*tân Iddew*) and the itch. The term was applied to disease in man and in animals, particularly in relation to the mange, the scabies and the itch.

Egerton Phillimore says that the earliest reference to the existence of leprosy in Wales was the inscription on the Porius Stone, found at Trawsfynydd in a field called Maes y bedd, on the farmstead of Llech Idris.

Porius
Hic in tumulo jacet
Homo planus fuit.

Arguing from the premise that a *homo planus*, or flat man, would have a *tabulata facies* or plain face, a passage containing such a description was considered. St. Aidan of Ferns miraculously gave eyes and nostrils to a plain faced man without eyes and nostrils. *Vir quidam tabulatum faciem habens sine oculis et naribus.*[12]

A similar miracle in the Welsh life of St. David contained the description quoted above by Thomas Wiliems :

> *Ac or awr yganet dall wynebclawr oed. Ac yna y olwc agavas . . .*[13]
> And from the hour he was born he was a blind, flat faced man. And it was then he received his sight.

From the association of *clawr* with leprosy, Phillimore suggested that *wynebclawr* in this context implied the facial deformity of a leper. *Clawr* also may be used to describe a flat surface (plank or board) and a shutter or cover : a Welsh medical pun ? On this comparative philological framework Phillimore built his argument that a leper was buried beneath the Porius stone.[14]

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Wiliems quotes from the same passage under his heading *Elephantia* (see above). It may also be translated : ' From the hour of his birth he was without eyes and a nose ', for Evans suggests that *wynepglawr* means ' one born without eyes and a nose '.[15] To Wiliems it signifies a leper.

A clinical description of leprosy is important for an understanding of the recognition of this disease in mediaeval writings, and of the problems of its diagnosis. The two severe forms of leprosy (Hansen's disease) are known as lepromatous and tuberculoid, and the pattern depends on the resistance of the affected individual. Lepromatous leprosy occurs in those with least defence and the bacilli are widespread in the system, causing at first a skin rash of round patches, reddish in the white races and coppery in the dark ones. Next the skin becomes lumpy, particularly over the face, and this thickening gives rise to the deformity known as the ' leonine facies '. These nodules may ulcerate on the face, and elsewhere, giving rise to ' running sores '. Loss of eyebrows and eyelashes is a common sequel.

The nerves below the skin become infected and this leads to a loss of sensation, so that the sufferer may become burned or injured without his noticing. Paralysis, injury and bone change, due to disease, bring about the characteristic and hideous deformities caused by the loss of the digits of hands and feet. Hoarseness and blindness may add to the misery.

The other type—tuberculoid leprosy—occurs in persons with a good resistance, and may not progress to the severity of the former type.

' Leprosy may sometimes be a slight passing ailment, or may become the most repulsive loathsome disease known to man '.[16] It is a disease in which death comes more often from the results of its crippling deformities, or by intercurrent infection, than by the direct toxicity of the disease itself.

Modern early clinical recognition depends on the discoloured skin, the patches of anaesthesia and certain other changes in the nervous system. Laboratory aids now confirm the diagnosis. However, these were not available to our forefathers before Armauer Hansen (1841—1912) discovered the leprosy bacillus in 1873. In 1879 Neisser described the myco-leprae in detail. Although the rash itself is said to be characteristic, modern leprologists consider that it still needs to be distinguished in Europe from psoriasis, seborrhoeic dermatitis, tinea, eczema, lichen planus, neurofibromatosis, erythema nodosum, leucoderma, pellagra, lupus vulgaris and syphilis. Outside Europe leprosy needs sometimes to be distinguished from filariasis, leishmaniasis, yaws and espundia which bear resemblances to it. This is an extensive differential diagnosis, and it should not be surprising if the earlier physicians of history mistakenly included at least some of these diseases with similar features under the clinical title, *lepra*.

Lepra was the name by which this disease came to be known in the

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Middle Ages. It doubtless included similar diseases, which could not at that period always be accurately distinguished clinically from the leprosy they knew and feared ; but the signs of which the medical writers such as Bernard Gordon (Montpellier, 1285—1307) and Guy de Chauliac (1300—1368) described so graphically. Francois Boissier de Sauvages, half a millenium later, thought that Gilbertus Anglicus's chapter on leprosy, ' *De lepra* ' in his *Compendium Medicinae* (circa 1270), was the best extant on the Greek elephantiasis.

> *Plures hujus morbi varietates, ut si Arabibus credamus, sunt species quarum nomina et signa ex Gilberto Anglo mutuabimur, loco leprae elephantiasim nominando.*[17]
>
> Many varieties of this disease, if we are to believe the Arabs, are types whose names and signs we may borrow from Gilbert Anglicus, calling them elephantiasis instead of leprosy.

Gilbert described the general signs of leprosy with four particular varieties, which were related to the four humours and called *elephantia*, *leonina*, *tyria*, and *alopecia*. He described, as did many other mediaeval writers, modes of infection including venereal transmission.

> *De infectione post coitum leprosi. Ex accessu ad mulieres dicimus superius lepram in plerisque generari post coitum leprosorum.*[18]
>
> Concerning infection after leprous intercourse. We have mentioned above that leprosy may often be contracted by access to women after they have had intercourse with lepers.

Talbot has recently drawn attention to the fact that much of this highly praised account can be found in Ricardus Anglicus (end of 12th century) and the even earlier author, Haly Abbas (d. 994).[19] The description in Wiliems's dictionary is much shorter, but there is a multiplicity of Welsh words for leprosy, and behind them lies the reality of Hansen's disease. For its morbidity, however, there is only scanty evidence.

Although the attitude to the mediaeval sufferers, at a time when charity was a christian duty, was one of compassion, the penalty for the denounced leper was nevertheless banishment from the community. The writ *De Leproso Amovendo* already in existence before 1100 A.D. stated *propter contagionem morbi predicti*, to which others added, *et propter corporis deformitatem*, he was to be removed from the society of men to some solitary place.[20] This was accompanied by a religious rite seeming to us nowadays to have a macabre and horrifying unreality, but which was, in fact, similar to the service read for the preparation of a hermit. The priest led the sick man to the church, ' as a dead man ', covered with a black cloth, and chanting the *Responsorium*, ' *Libera me Domine* '. After Mass, heard on his knees beneath a black cloth covering two trestles, and after the priest had cast earth upon him as in a burial service, he was ' dead to the world, but alive

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again unto God '. He was then taken forth into the open fields and the list of prohibitions read to him.[21] This service being in the Sarum Manual was likely to have been in general use in the southern half of England and Wales.

Although the fear of leprosy was great, efforts were made to mitigate the hardships caused by separation. Alms and hospitals were provided, but the plight of the leper was a miserable one, despite the accepted duty of charity toward him. This was clearly recognised by the physicians, who enjoined care in making a diagnosis which carried with it such deprivation of civil liberties. John of Gaddesden (1280 ?—1361) in his *Rosa Anglica*, asked that ' no one is to be adjudged a leper, and separated from intercourse of mankind, until the figure and form of the face is actually changed '. Bartolomaeus Anglicus (c. 1230-50) voiced the prevalent fear of contagion, amidst his other descriptive theories of its spread. It is of course possible that this pre-occupation with its infectivity may have been determined by a type of leprosy that was then more infectious than appears to be the case today. The nature of the transmission of leprosy is still not clear. Prolonged contact with a human suffering from the disease seems to be necessary for infection, and the *mycobacterium* probably enters through the skin or mucous membrane. The incubation period may vary from one to five years. The idea of direct transmissibility, as mentioned above, particularly as a result of intercourse, was certainly present in mediaeval and earlier thought. Creighton has used this as an argument that such an aetiology suggests syphilis rather than leprosy.[22] It is not unlikely that with disease mechanisms imperfectly understood there may have been confusion of this sort between diseases with some similar features.

Nascitur lepra a causis variis, praeterquam ab humoribus praedictis, sicut ex cohabitatione & convictu & frequenti confabulatione cum leprosis, contagiosus enim est morbus & aliorum infectivus. Accidit etiam ex accessu & coitu mulieris statim á leproso praecognitae, quandoque accidit ex primis generantibus ut ex corrupto sanguine leprosi generantis. Unde haec contagio quasi iure haereditario transit ad ipsam prolem. Aliquando etiam accidit, quando concipitur foetus tempore menstruorum, vel quando ex corrupto lacte mulieris leprosae nutritur foetus. Aliquando accidit ab extrinseco, sicut ex aere corrupto & infecto ex mala diaeta... Aliquando accidit ex cibis corruptis . . . & vino impuro & corrupto. (Bartolomaeus Anglicus).[23]

Leprosy arises from various causes, besides the aforementioned humours, by living with and by social exchanges and frequent conversation with lepers, for the disease is contagious and infects others. For it may happen from intimacy (*accessu*) and coitus with a woman, who has just been known by a leper. Sometimes it may arise from their first begetters, such as from the bad blood of a leper-parent. Whence this contagion as if by an hereditary law descends to the progeny. Sometimes it also happens when the foetus is conceived at the time of menstruation, or when the foetus is nourished from the corrupt milk of a leprous woman. At other times it may arise from such extrinsic causes, as corrupt and infected air and bad living . . . At other times it may arise from bad food . . . and impure and corrupt wine.

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Bartolomaeus distinguished leprosy from morphea.

> *Morphea est macula in cute . . . quod enim lepra in carne, hoc morphea est in cute.*[24]
> Morphea is a blemish in the skin . . . what lepra is in the flesh, morphea is in the skin.

Despite the fear of infection, the practice of the rule for the segregation of lepers was not always in accord with the precept. The writ *De Leproso Amovendo* was enforced, but leper legislation was often local and not consistent. Exeter allowed lepers to roam freely in the town, by a custom which was already ancient in 1163. The law did not attempt to interfere with lepers who did not flagrantly annoy their neighbours, and kept discreetly to themselves. In many places, despite the avowed purpose of the leper hospital, there were infirmaries and almshouses where lepers and other inmates were mixed together. Clay cites instances from Lincoln, London and Oxford. In St. Nicholas', York of 36 inmates, only four were lepers at one period in the thirteenth century.[25] The others paid for their admission. The poverty of the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries reduced many leper hospitals and other charities to such penurious conditions, that they were unable to maintain their functions.

Rigid regulations were applied to all receivers of charity, whether leper or pauper, who were provided with places in almshouses. None other was perhaps quite so retributive as the punishment for the lepers of Greenside Hospital, Edinburgh. There, the penalty for infringement of the rules confining the lepers within its walls was death. That this might not seem an empty threat, a gallows was erected for the immediate execution of offenders.[26] At the other end of the scale the penalty exacted from defaulting lepers at Shireburn, somewhat illogically, was expulsion from the hospital.[27]

There is evidence that the restrictions placed on lepers in these institutions, although built for their care and protection, were not always adequately compensated by the extent of the maintenance offered. The leper sometimes found that he was forced to beg, to supplement the meagre charity of the foundation. If his main support was found by him to be in his bowl, the forbidden tavern might seem jollier for a man with his prospects, than the praying and cleaning-up at the hospital, with its score of other irksome duties. Expulsion for indiscretions might then become a desirable end to the enjoyable means. As an unknown verminous beggar, the expelled leper, away from his home village, would need to have gross stigmata to be recognised for what he was ; particularly if he chose to abandon his distinctive dress. Perhaps, if he sought employment, he risked the lesser marks being recognised by an employer ; but the penalties of discovery were no worse than his original state. Guy de Chauliac (1300—1368) recognised the problem.

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In the examination and judgement of lepers, there must be much circumspection, because the injury is very great, whether we thus submit to confinement, those that ought not to be confined, or allow lepers to mix with the people, seeing the disease is contagious and infectious.

All this may seem to have been a long introduction to a discussion of leprosy in Wales, but an understanding of the nature of mediaeval leprosy, of the nomenclature of the disease and of the attitude to the leper is an essential preliminary to the study of the sparse information, at present available, of the disease as it existed there in the Middle Ages.

Early Welsh law made it clear that the leper occupied a special position in his relation to society. The Laws of Hywel Dda are preserved in manuscripts written after 1200 in the form of lawyers' reference books for the code of Hywel, who lived in the 10th century.[28]

The Welsh law made clear that a leper was distinguished from the rest of the community by diminution of his rights and privileges. In common with universal practice in Europe he could be separated from his fellows in a lazar house. The son of a leper was not to have his patrimony, ' because God had separated him from worldly kin ; that is such son as a leper may have after being adjudged to a lazar house '.[29] This makes clear that a Welsh leper could be separated from the community. The legal disability of exclusion from patrimony was applied only to the sons born after separation ; and the same disability applied to the sons of priests born after they had taken orders and the vows of celibacy. Welsh law accepted the separation of the leper from society to the same extent as a religious from the world. Either had equal disability as a pleader.

Nyt oys lys ar gygaws onyt darvot ydaw tory y brofes ac ymadaw ar byd neu y vynet yn glawr gwahanawl.[30]

There is to be no objection to a pleader, but for having violated his religious profession and quitting the world, or his becoming a separated leper.

Another passage in the laws considers three brothers, only one of whom was entitled to the patrimony, although of the same married parents. Of the three, only the unblemished son could inherit. Of the other two blemished sons, one was a mute, and thus ' incomplete as to tongue ', and the other a leper who was ' not of the world '.[31] This phrase recalled the closing words of the service of separation of the leper ' dead unto the world, but alive unto God '. Clay states that a MS Norman law book also declared ' that the mezel (leper) cannot be heir to anyone '. The two sons of Brien Fitz-Count, Lord of Wallingford and Abergavenny, ' being lepers, he placed in the Priory of Bergavenny and gave lands and titles thereto for their support '. He had perforce to bequeath his property to other kinsmen.[32] Later English law appeared to have changed this tenet. ' One that is borne deaf and dumbe may be heire to another,

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albeit it was otherwise holden in ancient time . . . Ideots, leapers, madmen, outlawes in debt trespasses or the like, persons excommunicated, men attainted in a *praemunire*, or convicted of heresie, may be heires '.[33]

Further evidence of the isolation of the Welsh leper is suggested in *Llyfr Iorwerth* by the justification given the wife in leaving a leprous husband. If she did, then the whole of her property was to be restored to her.

> *Os e gur hytheu a uyd klauur neu anadel drewedyc neu na allho kyt a'e wreyc, os o achaus un o'r try pheth henne ed edeu hy e gur, kubel o'r eydy a dele y gaffael.*[34]
>
> If her husband become a leper or (have) stinking breath or is not able at all to have sexual intercourse with his wife, if for one reason of these three things she leaves her husband, she is to take possession of all her property.

Llyfr Blegywryd, a law-book which was of south Wales origin, stated that she was not to lose her *agweddi* (the portion given upon her marriage) if she deserted him for leprosy, and for lack of marital relations, and foul breath.

> *O tri achaws ny chyll gwreic y hegwedi kyt adawho y gwr ; o glafri, ac eisseu kyt, a dryc anadyl.*[35]

The Latin *Leges Wallice* (N.L.W. Peniarth MS 28) which is the oldest known MS of the Welsh Laws, confirms the Welsh version of the right of a leper's separated wife to retain her *agweddi* (*De Separacione viri et mulieris*).

> *Tribus de causis potest femina habere suum egwedy, licet ipsa virum relinquat ; scilicet, si sit leprosus vir ; et si habeat fetidum anhelatum ; et si cum ea concumbere non possit.*[36]

The Latin *Leges Howeli Boni* (BM Cotton Vespasian MS E.XI) (*De mulieribus et variis earum eventibus*) confirms the retention of *agweddi*.

> *Tribus de causis habebit femina suum aguedi licet ipsa virum suum relinquat ; id est, si leprosus sit vir ; et si fetidum hanelitum habuerit ; et si cum ea coire non possit.*[37]

The *ebedyw*, or heriot (*De ebedyweu*) would seem due to the lord, when the leper renounced the world.

> *Leprosi, cum seculum dimittunt, ebedyw dare debent dominis suis.*[38]

Despite the preamble to the Welsh Laws, claiming a sort of *imprimatur*, with an unsubstantiated account of Hywel and his bishops travelling to Rome to obtain the Pope's blessing on their endeavours, the sanction for a wife to leave her leprous husband seems to have become, by the end of the twelfth century, in direct contravention of the Canon law. Pope Alexander III commanded the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1180 to use his power to conserve the marriage of lepers.

> ' *Lepra superveniens non dissolvit matrimonium . . .*'

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mandamus quatenus ut uxores viros et viri uxores qui leprae morbum incurrunt sequantur, et eis conjugali affectione ministrent, sollicitis exhortationibus inducere non postponas. Si vero ad hoc induci non poterunt, eis arctius iniungas ut uterque altero vivente continentiam servet. Quodsi mandatum tuum servare contempserint, vinculo excommunicationis adstringas '.[39]

Our command is that you should not delay in strongly persuading wives to follow husbands and husbands to follow wives who have contracted leprosy, and to care for them with conjugal love. But if they cannot be persuaded to do this you should strictly order both of them to observe continence whilst either of them is alive. And if they refuse to accept your order, you should excommunicate them.

Alexander III also decreed that lepers should not be excluded from marriage and that they may marry and have intercourse. (*Baionensi Episcopo*).

' *Coniuges propter lepram separandi non sunt a coniugio, et contrahere possunt matrimonium, et invicem sibi reddere debitam tenentur* '.

Leprosi autem si continere nolunt, et aliquam quae sibi nubere velit invenerint, liberum est eis ad matrimonium convolare.[40]

But if lepers do not wish to remain continent, and they find someone willing to marry them, they are allowed to enter into matrimony.

also :

Quodsi virum sive uxorem divino judicio leprosum fieri contigerit, et infirmus a sano carnale debitum exigat, generali praecepto Apostoli, quod exigitur est solvendum ; cui praecepto nulla in hoc casu exceptio invenitur.[40]

If it happens that a man or wife should by divine judgement become a leper, and the sick spouse demands marital rights, from the healthy partner, what is demanded must by general Apostolick precept be paid ; to which precept no exception in this case may be found.

But, in 1186 Pope Urban III, in a decretal to the Bishop of Florence, found that leprosy was sufficient cause for betrothed persons not to marry.

' *Sponsalia de futuro praecise non compellunt ad contrahendum matrimonium cum leproso, lepra post sponsalia superveniente* '.[40]

Betrothal cannot compel people to get married, if leprosy occurs between the time of betrothal and the proposed marriage.

Llyfr Blegywryd did not permit a leper to become a judge because of the precept that one who was not a ' whole man ' could not take such an office. A leper was further disqualified because of his separation from worldly affairs.

Tri dyn yssyd ny digawn vn ohonynt bot yn vrawdwr teilwg o gyfreith. Vn yw dyn anafus, megys dall, neu vydar, neu glafwr, neu dyn gorffwyllawc.[41]

There are three persons no one of whom by law can be a qualified judge. One of them is a person with a defect, such as being deaf, or blind or leprous, or an insane person . . .[42]

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But the promulgation of the law was not wholly inimical to the interests of the leper. Although he suffered the deprivation of certain privileges as a consequence of the loss of his civil rights, he was likewise exempted from the payment of certain penalties. The leper was exempted from the penalties of being a relative of a murderer, in an equal degree to his exclusion from the privileges attached to being a relative of the murdered. Revenge was meticulously controlled by setting out in detail the payment for killing, and the payment (*galanas*) was made by the family of the killer to that of the killed, within specified relationships on both the male and the female sides. The leper was exempted from the obligations of *galanas* in *Llyfr Blegywryd.*

Or byd kar y'r llofrud neu y'r lladedic yn wr eglwyssic rwymedic wrth vrdeu kyssegredic neu wrth greuyd, neu glafwr, neu vut, neu ynuyt, ny thal ac nyt erbynya dim dros alanas. Ny dylyir gwneuthur dial ar vn o'r rei hynny dros alanas, ac ny dylyant wynteu dial y neb a lather, ac ny ellir eu kymell o vn ffordy talu nac y erbynyaw dim dros alanas.[43]

If there be a relative of the murderer or of the murdered who is a cleric in holy orders or a religious, or a leper, or dumb, or an idiot, he neither pays nor receives any of the *galanas*. And they are not to take vengeance for a person murdered, and vengeance is not to be taken on any one of them for *galanas*, and they cannot in any way be compelled to pay or to receive anything for *galanas*.[44]

The Welsh Anomalous laws compiled from various MSS confirm the general attitude that a leper ceased to have legal responsibility, but if he had already become a surety beforehand, he did not cease to be responsible in law after the appearance of the disease.

O deruyt ydyn uynet yn uach achyn teruynu yr haul y uynet yn clauur neu yn uynach neu yn dywyll ny tybyco ef dylyu ohanau atep nyny adywedun dylyu ohanau kywyrau adewys trauo byu Ac un or lleoed ny dyly y tat (sic) *mab bot yn lle y tat.*

Sew achaus nas dyly canyt edewys dym oy da ydau namy wellys ny dyly ynteu seuyll trostau odym namyn y ewyllys.[45]

If a man becomes a surety, and before the termination of the suit he becomes a leper or a monk or blind, he should not suppose that his answerability may be different other than keeping faith throughout life. And it is one of those cases where a father (*sic*) a son may not stand in place of his father. Namely, because he may not leave him any of his goods, only the will, no duty devolves upon him except the will.

Nyt oys lys ar gygaws onyt darvot ydaw tory y brofes ac ymadaw ar byd nev y vynet yn glawr gwahanawl.[46]

There may be no objection to a pleader except for violating his profession and leaving the world or becoming a separated leper.

Claf, literally sick or ill (also a sick or ill person), was often used specifically to designate a leper in the Middle Ages and seems to have survived in this sense in the plural form *cleifion* in some place names ; although it is not always possible to be certain that the association was not with the

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more general use of the term.[47] Although the uncertainty must remain, the eminent Welsh lexicographer Syr Ifor Williams in his notes on the *englynion, Claf Abercuawg*, was of the opinion that *claf* once denoted a leper in Welsh—' sŵn galarus *claf* yn yr hen ystyr o wahanglwyfus sydd ynddynt '.[48] Finnaun i Clevion in Dingestow, Monmouthshire[49], Pont y Cleifion (Lepers' Bridge) on the River Clywedog at Mallwyd, which itself is called Afon Cleifion lower down, and Pont Rhyd y Cleifion (Bridge of the Ford of the Lepers) at Penybont on the River Ython are examples. Cae'r Cleifion (Field of the Lepers) at Wrexham was also known as Terra Leprosorum, and there was a Dôl y Cleifion (Meadow of the Lepers) mentioned in some old Welshpool wills. Another ' *terra que fuit Leprosorum* ' existed at Hawarden.[50] A bridge known as Pont dŵr y clyvon crossed the Solva. Merlin's bridge near Haverfordwest is corrupted from Maudlen, possibly from the nearby leper hospital of St. Mary Magdalen. Maudlens appears under Rouse Hundred in George Owen's *Taylors Cussion.*[51] A letter of 19th January, 1651-2 from Herbert Perrott to the mayor of Haverfordwest refers to the Maudlins bridge.[52]

Nant y Clauorion near Tenby,[53] and Vallis Leprosorum,[54] Domus Leprosorum at Caernarvon,[55] Rhyd y Clafdy near Pwllheli and another *clafdy* (or *clafrdy, clawrdy* meaning leper house) east of Cemaes in Anglesey, in the parish of Llanbadrig, record their associations with the disease.[56] Strata Florida had lepers as neighbours. In its charter confirming its possessions there was an exception made in 1369 for Ystrad Meurig, ' Strat Meurer, except the acres of the Lepers, of which they have special charters, Dwc tafflogeb, Pwll Perran, Bot Coll, in all their bounds and appurtenances, Tref vaes yelafdy Fennaun oyer in all their bounds . . .' (Grant and Confirmation to the Monastery of Strata Florida, July 8, 3 Henry VI, 1426—confirming possession in nearby places).[57] Gwern Glefryd near St. Asaph may have had an association with lepers, and so may Troed y Rhiw Clafret near Melin y Glyn, 5 or 6 miles East of Llandovery.[58]

As well as these association names suggesting the existence of leprosaria, there were several established leper hospitals in south Wales. ' There were three lazar houses in the County of Pembroke and these "Maudlens for poore" were at Pembroke, Haverfordwest and Tenby '.[59] ' There were lazar-houses at each of the three towns, without the walls, dedicated to St. Mary Magdalene. At Pembroke, east of St. Michael's Church ; at Haverfordwest, at the Maudlens' or Marlans' (now ignorantly called Merlin's) Bridge and at Tenby at St. Mary's Hill '.

Dugdale mentions a Hospital dedicated to St. Mary Magdalene near Pembroke, but does no more than quote Tanner's account of it. Tanner, however, makes no reference to this being a hospital for lepers, as its dedication suggests. ' *Hospital.* An hospital dedicated to St. Mary

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Magdalene near Pembroke of the yearly value of £1. 6. 8., to which the following footnote is added—"This is mentioned in a good MS valor".'

The Hospital of St. Mary Magdalen at Tenby, also known as 'The Maudlens', was founded for the care of lepers. 'This Earle *Gilbert* [of Pembroke, died 1241] gave Certaine landes to the Mawdlens of *Tenbye* towardes the relieffe of the leepers there, which lande after beinge converted to other uses, is nowe of her maiesties possesions'.[60]

The Commissioners on Historical Monuments could find little more information about the Leper Hospital at Tenby.

> There is a Hospitall or Spitell within the said parish [St. Mary in Liberty, Tenby] founded by the earl of Pembroke, as it is reported, but to prove it an hospitall or spitell there be no writings, but certain confirmation, as it may appear the intent of the founder was to find a master and two laysar [leper] people.

When it was still in use the hospital's plate, jewels and ornaments were valued at 18s. 2d. The master, David Rogers, received a stipend of 65s. and had to find one leper a year. At that time the town had a population of 900. The confiscation of 'The Maudlens' and the distribution of its revenues had led to much litigation in the reign of Elizabeth. As early as 1446 the rents of the hospitals at Tenby, both St. John the Baptist and St. Mary Magdalen, had been diverted to the mayor and burgesses *ad usum et utilitatem pauperum in domo elemosinaria ville Tembie.* A supplement to a document of 1573 noted its transfer to Dr. Robert Recorde. The value of the rent was still 65s. 'Make a lease of the premises to Robert Recorde for term of 21 years, yielding to the queen's majesty the yearly rent aforesaid'. In 1576, Thomas Brown gave evidence at a hearing of one of the Causes in the Star Chamber that for forty years he had known only of one residential leper ; a man called Alson Walter who was paid 'a groat a week, and some weeks two groats, and some weeks none'. This man was there for twelve years. Brown added that the hospital was now a brewhouse.[61]

Cardiff had the distinction of its leper hospital being founded and governed by the burgesses of the commonalty of the town during the fourteenth century. Most such mediaeval foundations were the work of the ecclesiastical authorities, or of wealthy patrons, seeking to fulfil their charitable duty. The townsmen of Cardiff acted on their own.

The site of the hospital may be seen on John Speed's map of Glamorgan, at the top right hand corner of the inset of the plan of Cardyfe. It lay outside the East Gate, at the end of 'Cokkerton Stret'. This is very near the site of the old Infirmary, and is partly built over and commemorated in the name of the Spital Buildings, erected in 1883 at the east end of the south side of Queen Street.[62]

There is an 'Inspeximus and Confirmation' of the deed of foundation belonging to 1400, the second regnal year of Henry IV, which records its

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decay by that date and its assignation to Chaplain Simon Wargan, in the hope that he would continue the work.

> Inspeximus and confirmation to Simon Wargan, chaplain, of a writing of William David, Thomas Gloucestre, John Morgan, John Tyler, John Payn, Laurence Morgan, John Batle, Peter Topp, Thomas Adam, Water Davy and Walter Evethorn, burgesses, and all the commonalty of the town of Kerdyf, under the common seal of the town dated at the Guildhall of Kaerdyf, 20 September, 20 Richard II, shewing that their predecessors were founders of a hospital without the east gate of the town at the east end of a way called Crokkerton on the north of the highway leading to Rooth, and appointed in it a chaplain to celebrate divine service yearly in the chapel of *St Mary Magdalen* there for the good state of the king, the earl of Gloucester, then lord of Glamorgan and Morganno, and the burgesses and commonalty and for their souls after death and to maintain 24 beds in the hospital for leprous, poor and feeble persons, if the lands and alms granted to the hospital suffice, to be called the master of the hospital of St Mary Magdalen, Kaerdyf, and the hospital for a long time by reason of the small value of the lands and the withdrawal of alms has been ruinous and derelict, and granting the hospital with its lands, alms and other appurtenances to the said Simon for life, at his supplication, provided that he fulfil the above charges to the best of his power.
>
> ' For 20s. paid in the hanaper '.[63]

The hospital was a mixed one for leprous and poor and feeble persons. There may have been a maladeria for lepers at Kenfig in the thirteenth century.[64]

In Ystrad Marchell there was a leper house founded by Owen Cyfeiliog. He made three benefactions, one for the monastery of Strata Marcella, one for Clettrwd bridge, and one for an almshouse for the lepers, ' that was burnt because of their fornication '.[65]

There were leper hospitals in the Welsh Border country. Chester had a leper hospital dedicated to St. Giles in 1245, the protection of which was confirmed in 1329.

> 1245. *Pro leprosis Cestr'. Mandatum est Johanni de Grey, justiciario Cestr', quod leprosis hospitalis Sancti Egidii Cestr' faciat habere partem eos contingentem de decimo denario porcorum regis venditorum unde lardarium regis fieri debuit, adeo plene sicut eam habere debuissent si larderium regis factum fuisset de eisdem porcis et sicut temporibus commitum Cestr' eam receperunt. Teste ut supra.*[66]
>
> For the lepers of Chester. John Grey, justiciar of Chester, is ordered to give to the lepers of the hospital of St Giles at Chester one tenth of the money raised from the sale of the king's pigs and which is usually applied to the king's larder : and they are to have the money in full, as they have done since the time of the counts of Chester, just as if the sum from the pigs had been applied to the king's larder.
>
> 1329. June 1. Inspeximus and confirmation of letters patent dated 30 March, 31 Henry III being a protection for the brethren of the hospital of St. Giles, Chester, in liberties granted to them by earls of Chester".
>
> By Keeper of the Realm.[67]

The site of this hospital was at the east end of Forest Street, Chester, in the district known as Spital Boughton. Ormerod believed it was founded

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by Earl Randle Blunderville but his reviser, Helsby, thought that one of the Cyfeiliog family was more likely. The privileges of the hospital were confirmed by Hugh Kevelioc and Edward III as a result of a plea in 1500 to support a toll for the lepers on every article carried for sale to Chester market.

The claims were as follows : Certain toll from everything carried to sale at Chester market.

> One handful from every sack of wheat, vetches or barley, and two handfuls from every sack of oats or malt, carried either on a horse or cart, or in any other way ; and of wheat, vetches, barley, oats, salt fish, produce of any other kind, and particularly salt, one handful from a sack, and two from a cart ; one cheese from every horse load or cart load of cheese ; one salmon from every horse, or cart load ; and in other fish, such as sparlings, flukes, eels, etc., five from every horse's pannier, and one from every man's load. From fruits of trees, one double handful from each horse load, and three double handfuls from each cart load. From fruits of the earth, whether horse loads or cart loads, one handful. From all packages of earthen ware, one piece of the same ; to have one horse from the horse fair ; and from all carts drawn by oxen or horses carrying wood or brick, one piece of the same.
>
> To have also one boat with a fisherman above or below Dee bridge, with stallnette, flotnette, or dragenette, or any other kind of nette, night and day, and three stalls in Dee, called single lyne stalles, and not to be amenable to the justice, sheriff, or other officer of the prince, except in the court of the hospital aforesaid. In this plea are recited two charters of Randle Blundeville.[68]

The original of this plea to a quo warranto of 15 Henry VII is in the Chester Exchequer and of which Ormerod states there is a copy in Harleian MS 2115, f. 195.

Blundeville gave a rent charge of 10 shillings to the Abbey of St. Werburgh from the lands held under him by Geoffry de Sibesey.

> *de quibus dicti monachi solvent leprosis de Boughton xx denarios, et de residuo pascent c pauperes, in die nativitatis patris sui, infra abbatiam Cestriae.*[69]
>
> from which ten shillings the said monks shall pay 20 pennies to the lepers of Boughton and from the residue feed a 100 paupers within the abbey of Chester on the birthday of his father.

Robert le Chamberlain gave three stalls in Dee, under the seal of the Chester Exchequer, *infirmis fratribus hospitalis S' c' i Egidii de Boghton.*[70]

References to the hospital and its income were frequent during the thirteenth century.

> 1300. June 7. Order to all persons of the counties of Chester and Flynt and the cantred of Engelfeld on the appointment by the King of Richard de Mascy to the office of justice of Chester, etc.
>
> He shall pay . . . to the lepers of Boughton, 20 shillings a year of ancient alms.[71]

Seven years later there was a similar order to the Justice of Chester and Flint.

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1307. Oct 1. Robert de Holand made Justice of Chester and Flint, etc., He shall pay . . . to the lepers of Boghton 20 shillings a year of ancient established alms.[72]

And in 1328 this injunction was repeated :

1328. Nov 29. Westminster. Oliver de Ingham to be Justice for life of Chester and Flynt. He shall pay . . . to the lepers of Boghton twenty shillings a year of ancient established alms.[73]

Knowles describes the leper hospital of St. Giles, Boughton and St. Giles, Chester as one and the same.[74]

The chamberlain for Chester was still paying a rent of 20s. in 1416, under the head of antiquae eleemosynae.

*Leprosis Sci Egidij de Boghton de quadam elemosina eis ab antiquo concess' soluend annuatim ad fm Sci Michis p toto anno xx*s. *Quos rec' ad m*s, *Rici le Smyth xx iij, die Dec' 3 Henry V. Pal.—Ledger.*[75]

To the lepers of St Giles of Boughton for an alms granted to them of old, to be paid every year on the feast of St Michael, 20s for a whole year, which be received at the hands of Richard the Smith. 23rd December, 3 Henry V.

The hospital and its chapel were completely destroyed during the siege of Chester in 1645. ' The precise spot upon which they stood is marked by a cemetery '.[76] ' The extra-parochial township of Spital-Boughton, in the suburbs of Chester, containing fifteen houses, is locally situated within the parish of St. John ; it took its name from an hospital for lepers, dedicated to St. Giles, founded by Randal de Blundeville, Earl of Chester. This hospital continued long after the Reformation ; among the Harleian MSS is a letter of King Charles I in 1630, in favour of the brethren of this hospital, requiring that they should not be molested on account of murage. It is probable that it was destroyed during the civil war. King Charles II in 1685 granted the site and the lands belonging to this hospital to the corporation, under whom they are now held by small rents. The site of the hospital is now a burying-ground ; the adjacent lands, called the Spital-fields, belonged some time since to the Werdens, from whom they passed by inheritance to the family of Drummond, in which they are now vested '.[77]

A seal has been reported which may have been that of the leper hospital at Boughton. The Rev. W. H. Massie in 1852 published an illustration and wrote, ' Fig 5 is a seal sent to me by Mr Marsh as the seal of the Spital at Boughton. The writing is *Sigillum . . . Beate Marie de Boythun ;* but the Church of the Spital was dedicated to St Giles (like most of such hospitals), not to St Mary, and it evidently belongs to some other establishment '.[78] The inscription on the periphery of the illustration of the seal reads *S. hospitalis beate Marie de Boythun ;* the word *hospitalis* is given in full and *sigillum* is contracted to S. It is therefore the seal of a

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hospital. The dedication of the hospital at Boughton was to St. Giles, as many other leper hospitals were. There are also dedications to St. James, St. Laurence, Mary Magdalene amongst the Welsh and border leper hospitals.

There were leper hospitals at Babington and also at Nantwich in Cheshire.

> Vale Royal. 1283. Sept. 6. Licence for the brethren of the house of lepers of Bebynton to enclose with a small dyke and a low hedge, 5 acres, by the forest perch, of their own waste there, which are within the forest of Wyrhale and to bring the same into cultivation.[79]

This hospital at Babington had a chapel dedicated to St. Thomas à Becket.

> It appears by ancient records, that in the reign of Henry the Third there was a Chapel in this parish dedicated to St Thomas à Becket. It is probable that it was the Chapel of the Spital of which William Lancelyn died seised in 1382. This spital of which there are now no remains, is spoken of in a record of Edward the First as an Hospital of Lepers.[80]

There was ' an hospital for Lazars ' at Nantwich referred to in Harleian MSS 2074, and 2038 f 137 as ' St Laurence's Chapel '.[81]

The hospital of St. Giles without Shrewsbury, was a very early leper hospital. Between 1149 and 1159, during the years Bishop W. (Walter Durdent), was in office, Henry II had issued a charter granting it thirty shillings yearly as an institution already in existence.

> *H. Rex Anglorum et Dux Normannorum et Aquitanorum et Comes Andegavorum. W. episcopo Cestrensi et justiciis et vice-comitibus et ministris suis et omnibus fidelibus suis de Salopescira, salutem. Sciatis me dedisse et concessisse in perpetuam elemosinam infirmis de Salopsberia de firma mea de Salopescira singulis annis triginta solidos. Et volo et precipio quod eos habeant quiete et integre per manus vicecomitis mei. Testibus, Manassero Byset dapifero, et Warino filio Geroldi Camerario apud Wudestocam.*
>
> Henry, King of England and Duke of Normandy and Aquitaine and Earl of Anjou, to W. bishop of Chester, and to his justices and sheriffs and ministers and all his faithful of Salopesire, greeting. Know that I have given and granted in perpetual alms to the infirm [lepers] of Salopeber' of my firm of Salopesire, every year, thirty shillings : and I will and command that they have them quietly and entirely by the hands of my sheriff. Witnesses, M. Biset sewer, and Warin fitzGerold, chamberlain. At Wudestoke.[82]

A similar right to that enjoyed by the lepers of Chester was granted by the king to the *leprosi S. Egidii* of Shrewsbury. Two handfuls of every sack of corn and a handful of every sack of flour exposed for sale in Shrewsbury market either on market days or any other day were to be theirs.

King John at Woodstock confirmed this privilege by a charter dated

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19th March of the 5th year of his reign (1204). King Henry III issued a charter from Wenlock, dated 11 August the sixteenth year of his reign (1232), granting for the health of his soul, to the lepers of the Hospital of St. Giles without Salop, that they may have one horse journeying once in every day for dead and dry wood in our wood of Lythewode, for their fire '.

Thirteen years later, on the 10th of August, 1245 King Henry III writing from Lilleshull took the hospital and brethren under his special protection and defence and commanded his bailiffs and lieges to maintain, protect and defend their men, lands, things, rents and possessions, ' requesting and admonishing you in God that when the brethren of the said hospital come to you to beg alms for the behoof of their house, you will favourably admit them, and mercifully impart to them your alms of the goods conferred by God upon you '. These grants were confirmed by Charters of Inspeximus of the 9th and 11th years of Edward II,[83] and the 1st year of Richard II.[84]

An undated grant from ' the prior, brethren and sisters of the house of St. Giles of Salop ' to Richard the merchant, of Wemmer of a messuage in Salop . . . ' to be holden for ever at fee farm at a rent of three shillings and six pence ', was witnessed by Thomas Champeneys and William Vahhan, provosts of Salop, who were known to have been in office in 1282.[85] The seal of the hospital in yellow wax was still attached to this document. It had no inscription, but it had two figures, one of which was St. Giles's animal, the hind, by whose milk he was nurtured in the desert. Above this was a ' squarish figure ' possibly representing ' the clock-dish or alms-basket with clapper which lepers were obliged to employ in begging charity '.

In the fifteenth century the Hospital of St. Giles at Shrewsbury was mentioned in the Calendar of Patent Rolls for the reign of Henry V.

> 1414. May 15. Leicester. Inspeximus and confirmation to the infirm and lepers of the hospital of St Giles, Shrewsbury, of letters patent dated 1 February, 1 Richard II (Calendar, 1377—1381, p. 102) inspecting and confirming earlier letters patent and charters. For ½ mark paid in the hanaper and for God because they are poor.[86]

By Henry VIII's time the purpose of the hospital to care for lepers had been forgotten. Dugdale quotes from ' Certificates of Colleges. Chantries, etc. of the 37th year of Henry VIII in the augmentation office '.

> Salop. Saynt Giles, Spyttell. Founded by the king's most noble progenitors to what intente or purpose they cannot tell. The revenues ben expended for what intent or purpose they cannot tell, having one crofte valewed by yere at 6s. 8d. The sayd Spytell is nigh adjoyning to the towne of Shrewsbury, beying no pysshe church nor charged wyth any cure.
>
> The possessions belonging to the sayd Spyttell ben valewed by yere at 6s. 8d. Plate, jewells, ornaments, goods or catalle none.[87]

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The appointment of the Master sometime vested in the abbot and convent of Shrewsbury, was later leased to Richard Lee of Langley whence it passed via John Prynce to his son, Richard Prynce. From this family it descended to the Tankervilles, and in the mid-nineteenth century the Earl Tankerville received as master annually from the sheriff of the county 30 shillings. He nominated four hospitallers who lived in adjoining cottages, each inmate receiving 1/6d. per week, 3/- for coals at Midsummer and 12/6d. for clothing at Christmas.

Pettigrew reported that by 1855 only traces of the foundation of this hospital remained in the neighbourhood of the church, which is ' about a mile from the "English Bridge", a little way beyond the top of the abbey Foregate, between the London and Wenlock roads '.[88] In the churchyard there had been discovered earlier in the nineteenth century the remains of a sculptured cross of the 14th Century, the socket of which had been converted into a pest basin. Pettigrew suggests it had been used as such during the time of the plague at Shrewsbury, where the townspeople deposited their money for the purchase of provisions.

In the thirteenth century, near the town of Bruges or Brutia (Bridgnorth) lay a hospital for male and female lepers dedicated to St. James, *Domus leprosorum Sancti Jacobi*, or *Maladria Sancti Jacobi*.[89] It may have been founded before 1224, for on 22nd September, 1224, King Henry III, who was at ' Bruges ' issued to Hugh Fitz Robert, Forester of Shropshire, a certificate to the effect that the ' leprous brethren ' might collect wood in the neighbouring forest.

> Know that for the reverence of God, and for the health of our soul, and the soul of the Lord King John, our Father, we have granted to the Leprous Brethren of the Hospital of St James at Bruges, that they may have one horse, daily plying in our forest of Morf, to collect dry stumps and dead wood for their fire, until we come of age. Claus. 8 Hen III m. 4.

Pettigrew says that Tanner (*Notitia Monastica*) mentioned a hospital of this title rated at £4. pr ann. in the ' MS. Valor in Offic. Primit ', and suspected it to have been that founded by Ralph le Strange, who died in the time of Richard I. The hospital, as usually the case with leper hospitals, was outside the town.

> It stood East of the road which led from St John's Hospital towards Quatford, and on the outside of the Town, a situation corresponding aptly with its design. Its Founders were probably the Community of the Borough of Brug, and such an establishment may well have been a part of the internal economy of the Town.[90]

On October 14th, 1259, King Henry III granted letters patent for ' The lepers of St. James of Bruges for five years '.

In 1854 when the above description was written, there was in existence a Latin deed of the thirteenth century with a seal of green wax attached :

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the *Sigillum Leprosorum Sancti Jacobi de Brugia*, representing a leper furnished with a staff and wallet. In the deed male and female occupants are mentioned, *fratribus et sororibus in domo nostra succedentibus et ibidem Deo servientibus*. In 1285 St. James at Bruges (Bridgnorth) was again mentioned and once more referred to the sisters.

1283. Oct. 6. Protection with clause rogamus for three years for the brethren and sisters of the lepers of St James, Bruges, collecting alms.[91]

'The mastership of this hospital was, in the time of Edward IV, annexed to the abbey of Lylleshul ; and as parcel of the possessions of that house, it was granted to Leon. Edwards, 31st Hen. VIII '.[92] Also at Bridgnorth, Salop was the leper hospital of Vetus Maladeria founded about 1231.[93]

At Hereford the burgesses were believed to have been patrons of the lepers of the Hospital of St. Giles. The chapel was given to the town by King Richard and occupied successively by the Grey Friars and the Templars. 'There is a Suburbe without *Inne Gate*, and in it is a Chappel of St. Gyles first founded for Lazers now converted to the use of other poore Folke. The Burgesses be Patrons of it '.[94]

The records of the Lazarus or Sickman's Hospital at Hereford are lost but the name suggests a foundation for lepers. Dr. Mercier thought that St. Catherine's Hospital at Ledbury was for lepers.[95]

The sixteenth century *Welsh Leech Book* contains several references to the domestic diagnosis and treatment of leprosy.[96]

f. 135. r. *I wybod a fydd y clwyfgwahan ar wr ne wraig. Kymer ŵy kugfran, a dyro ef i sefyll yngwaed y dyn oni oero y gwaed, ac os bydd y clwy arno ef a galeda yr wy, oi fewn, ac oni bydd, ni chaledaf ef ddim.*

To know whether a man or a woman has leprosy. Take a raven's egg and put it to stand in the blood of the man until the blood cools, and if he should have leprosy the egg will harden inside, and if not it will not harden at all.

There are prescriptions for treatment, in which morphea is distinguished from leprosy in nomenclature, but not in therapeutic detail.

f. 5. r. *Rhag clafr gwyn. Kymer gaws y llyffaint ar dail kochion or gwern ai briw yn dda a berw mewn y menyn gwyrf ai hidlo ai gadw yn annwyl ac iro y knawd ac iach vydd profedig yw.*

For the morphea. Take a toadstool and red leaves from an alder, and bruise them well and boil in fresh butter and sieve and keep carefully and anoint the flesh and it is proved it will be healed.

f. 25. v. *Rhag y clafr. Kymer gaws y llyffaint ar dail kochion oddiar y gwern ac y menyn gwyrf ai briwo yn dda a rhoi ias dda arno a hidlo drwy liain glan ac ired a hwnw a llês a wna cans provedic yw lawer gwaith.*

For the leprosy. Take a toadstool and red leaves from an alder and fresh butter and bruise well and simmer well and filter through fresh (clean) linen and anoint with this and it will be of benefit because it has been proved many times.

f. 73. r. *Rhag Tarddu a chwyddo o natur drwg ddiod megis klwyf gwahanol. Kymer sygun*

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ffumiter a sygun ysgabiws a sygun y bwrach ai kymysgu a maidd glas keulaid ai yfed yn fynych nos a bore, ac arfer o hyny A gwneuthur ennaint o ddail y tafol kochion ac arfer or ennaint ar ddiod honno ac iach fydd provedig yw a gwir.

For an eruption and swelling such as leprosy arising from bad drink. Take juice of fumitory and juice of scabious and juice of borage and mix them with curdled blue whey and drink often night and morning, as a practice. And make an ointment from leaves of red-veined dock and use this ointment and drink and it has been proved true that healing will follow.

A prescription for leprosy is given in Iolo Morganwg's transcript, used as the basis of the second part of the published *Meddygon Myddfai*,[97] the authenticity of which is open to doubt.

s. 598. *Rhag Tardd Gwahanol, a elwir y Gwahanglwyf.*

Cais wraidd y tafawl cochon, a gwraidd y marchalan, a dail y gwywydd, a chenin y brain, a brig y banadl, a gleison y coed, a'r meddygyn, a rhedyn Mair, a'r fabcoll sef dail anwylyd, a mortyra nhwy ynghyd gydag ymenyn heb halen, a dod ferwi yn dda, yn tynn i'r llawr a hidl yn lân drwy liain crai, a dod ynddo amcan o losglist pyloraid, a rhwd gwyrdd, ag a hwnnw îr yna fynych ag iach y bydd trwy Dduw. 97

For Separation Eruption, that is called the Leprosy.

Obtain roots of the red-veined dock, and roots of the elecampane, and leaves of honey-suckle, and bluebell, and a sprig of broom, and bugle, and the violet and lady's fern, and the herb Bennet, and pound them together with unsalted butter, and bring well to the boil, then remove to the floor and strain cleanly through new linen, and add to it a little *llosglys* [either common cow-wheat or more probably mezereon] and verdigris, and with this anoint frequently and it will be healed with God's help.

Section 595 of this dubious second part of *Meddygon Myddfai* seems to refer to a skin condition rather than to Hansen's disease.

Rhag y clefri neu'r Ddarwyden fawr.

Cymmer fadarch, a lle ni bo ffwng y ddaiar a elwir bwyd llyffaint, a'r dail cochon a fydd ar y gwern, ag ymenyn puredig, a berw ynghyd mewn llaeth defaid, ag yna hidlo trwy liain crai, ag yn fynych iro a hwn, ag iach y byddi gyda Duw.[97]

For the Leprosy or the Great Ringworm.

Take a toadstool, or if this is not obtainable a ground fungus that is called boletus, and the red alder leaves, and purified butter, and boil together in sheep's milk, and straining through new linen, and anointing frequently with this, you shall be healed with God's help.

Section 795 of the same work nevertheless contains a passage which identifies ring worm, the disease referred to in Section 595, with the Latin Lepra ; ' a'r ddarwyden fawr, a elwir yn Lladin *lepra* '.

There is a method of diagnosis for leprosy given in Peniarth MS 27 Pt II, p. 13, possibly in the hand of Gutun Owain, who flourished in the second half of the fifteenth century.

I adnabod am glaf gwahan

O myni adnabod beth vo dyn ai klaf gwahan ai na bo par di illwng gwayd arno a dyro y gwayd

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mewn dwr ac os y gwayd a a ir gwaylod iach vyd os tric ar yr wyneb y dwr klaf gwahan vydd
To diagnose the leprosy (To know the leper).
In order to know which man has leprosy and which has not draw blood from him and put the blood into water and if the blood goes to the bottom he is well ; if the blood stays on the surface of the water he is a leper.

A treatment for the disease, *brech yr Iddewon* (Jews' Pox) is given in the same MS on p. 34 b. *Llyma ddiod rrac brech ir iddewon Kymer driacl y tolodion.*
This page of the MS is very difficult to read, but Mr. Gerallt Harries, has succeeded in making the following transcript, which he has annotated and translated below.

llyma ddiod rrac brech yr iddewon. kymer driacl y tylodion yr hwnn a elwir y drosgl ar rvw a daint y llew kribe sanffraid y wermod wen sayds llysie Ieuan golt mair dav alwyn o gwrw ai verwi oni el dan i drayan ai yved ar gythlwng dri bore.

llyma vodd i wnevthvr powdr sayds ar rvw a daint y llew ar droscl kribe sanffraid ai gwnevthvr yn bowdr ai roi ar vaidd Rraid[1] *yw yved kyn myned yn yr enaint*[2] *hyny a bair ir gwenwyn dardd*[3] *allan.*

llyma eli yw wnevthvr yn iach kymer vlonec pry penvrith a chwyr a gwer a berw ias ias arno ac yna kymer y tri ffowdr hynn brwmsdan a vergrais a[4] *chalch tayliwr*[5] *a hwnn a vwrir ynddo pan i tynych ir llawr ac iach vyd* [ ][6]

[1]This seems to be the most probable reading, although in the MS it looks very much like *kelaid.*

[2]The word *yr* has been deleted here.

[3]This is all that can be read in the MS. Has *-v* been lost at the end of the word ? (*darddv*).

[4]The word *chwyr* has been deleted here.

[5]The *-y-* and the *-l-* are very indistinct, but this reading seems the most probable one.

[6]There is a hole in the paper at this point, and one or more letters have no doubt been lost.

Here is a potion for leprosy. Take the poor man's treacle, which is called garlic, and rue, and dandelion, (wood) betony, feverfew, sage, St. John's wort, marigold [and] two gallons of beer, and boil this until it is reduced to less than a third of the initial quantity, and drink it on an empty stomach three mornings. This is how one should make a powder : [Take] sage and rue and dandelion and garlic [and] (wood) betony, and make a powder of them, and administer it in whey, to be drunk before immersion in the bath. That will cause the poison to erupt. Here is a salve to cure it. Take the grease of a brock (badger) and some tallow and heat it until it boils, and then take the following three powders—brimstone, verdigris and tailor's chalk, which are cast into it when it is taken down (? from the fire), and this will cause a cure.

The *Llysieulyfr Meddyginiaethol* attributed to William Salesbury, the translator of the first Welsh New Testament, gives a Welsh version of plants that were used in Leonard Fuchs's *De Historia Stirpium* of 1542 and Wm Turner's *Herbal* of 1568 for the treatment of leprous sores, but the description frequently resembles an infected dermatosis more closely than Hansen's disease. The edition of E. Stanton Roberts, Liverpool, 1916 is not a wholly satisfactory text.

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The pimpernel is recommended on page 17 of the printed edition for the spreading ulcer (*y clefri a fo yn cerdded*) and on page 29 the plantain.

Y Rhinwedde Y Dail sydd nerthol I sychu ac I attal ac am hynny sydd ddai Rhai a fo a chornwydydd arnynt ne glefri Tra phyrnig a rhyw o hanglwyf y rhai a fo yn rhedeg or dwfr.

The virtues of the leaves are powerful for drying and preventing and for that matter are good for such as may have sores or scabs (lepra) very fiercely like a sort of leprosy that may run with water.

cf. they ar good for all perillus sores and hard to heale, and suche as draw towarde the comon lepre, and for such as ar flowyng or rynnyng and full of foul mater. (Wm. Turner's *Herbal*, Cologne, 1568).

The *Llysieulyfr Meddyginiaethol* uses elsewhere the terms *clwyf mawr* and *clwyf gohanol* suggesting that in these instances the translator was meaning leprosy in the sense of Hansen's disease, although this may not have been the intention of the original author. Mr Gerallt Harries has generously provided the following transcripts, translation and notes of their occurrence in the National Library of Wales MS 4581, which contains the earliest known recension.

a. Folio 38 recto (cf. printed version, p. 59).
(Sub ' *Meryw* '). [. . Juniper].
Y rhisc hefyd wedyr loscy a ei osot gyd a dwfyr arno a ddilea yr haint mawr.

b. Fol. 41 verso (cf. printed version, p. 64).
(Sub ' *Gwinwydden* ')
Y deicr a ddifera or prenn ar wedd gwin a yfir gyd a gwin er escor maen y tostedd. |
Y mae e yn dda i iro ar grammennae ac ar y clwy mawr : eithyr rhait yw ei ruglo yn gyntaf a salpeter nei halen y garrec. |
The tears which flow from the tree in the form of wine may be drunk with wine to eject the stone. This [liquid] is also beneficial if it is used to anoint scabs and leprosy ; but it should first be rubbed with saltpetre.

c. Fol. 47 verso. (cf. printed version, p. 72).
(Sub ' *Y Winwydden wenn* ').
Y phrwyth nei yr aeron sy dda rhac crammenae a rhac y lepr nei|r| clwyf mawr o dodir wrtho ac od irir.
The fruit or the berries are beneficial for scabs and for leprosy, namely the great disease if they are placed upon it or used to anoint it.
cf. *The seconde parte of the Herbal of William Turner*, 1568, fol. 167 recto, sub ' Brionia ' :
' The fruyte is good for lepres and scabbes / whether the places be anoynted therewyth / or it be layd to '.

d. Fol. 88 verso. (cf. printed version, p. 121).
(Sub ' *Bresych* ').
Da ynt hefyd rhac tân iddw, rhac plor a ddel o y wrth wynt y nos, a rhac y clwyf gohanol : gyd a halen y dryllian y pwngae. |
They [. . the leaves] are beneficial for erysipelas, for pimples which are caused by the night wind, and for the separation sickness : with salt they break carbuncles.
cf. *The first parte of the Herbal of William Turner*, p. 88, sub ' The vertues of Cole :
' They [. . the Leaves] heale also burning impostemes / that come of subtile or cholerik blood / and little sores lyke wheles / whiche broken / send furth bloody

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matter / and lepres which are diseases of the skin / with salt they burste Carbuncles '.

e. Fol. 161 recto. (cf. printed version, p. 205).
Sub ' *Phicuspren* '.
Y sûc gyd ac ywd o beillieit a dwfyr a garth ymaith y clwy gohanol, haint yscen, y brychi o waith yr haul a chramennae ac afiechyd y marwdon. /
The juice, taken in a porridge made of wheat flour and water will cleanse the separation sickness, dandruff (scurf), spots that are caused by the sun, and scabs and scaliness of the head.

The question of the incidence of leprosy in Wales in the Middle Ages is not made any easier by the literary confusion that has existed in the nomenclature. There was also practical confusion with other diseases, clinically mistaken for leprosy. But taken as a whole, the evidence seems in favour of endemic Hansen's disease. Leprosy has not even today gone from these islands, although it is no longer truly indigenous. In 1966 there were still about 350 cases in England and Wales, when it was felt necessary to make new Public Health regulations for its control. They came into operation in March of that year.[98]

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48. *Canu Llywarch Hen,* ed. Ifor Williams, Cardiff, 1953, 2nd ed., pp. 173-4.
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51. *The Taylors Cussion by George Owen, Lord of Kemeys* (circa 1552—1613), Facsimile, London, 1906, Second Part. f. 40 verso, f. 41 recto.
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53. Evans, J. Gwenogvryn, *Book of LlanDâv,* op. cit., p. 126. *Nant y clauorion* (Tref carn. Laith ti Teiliau, Menechi).
54. *Ibid.,* p. 227, '*ad eundem uallem leprosorum*' (Villa Eliav).
55. Fenton's *Tours in Wales,* ed. by Canon J. Fisher, Cambrian Archaeological Association, 1917, p. 242.
56. *Arch. Camb.,* 1920, XX, 234.
57. *Ibid.,* 1848. 1st series. Vol. III, pp. 195—211, contains translation, p. 206. Tref vaes yelafdy : probably Tref faes y clafdy. The editor of *Arch. Camb.* noted that he had followed the orthography of the MS communicated to him, the spelling errors of which he attributed in part to a want of palaeographic knowledge in the person who made the original transcript from the Record.

    Clafdy was the word in use in the thirteenth century for a hospital or a house for the care of lepers. It occurred in the Laws of Wales and also in the *Poetry of the Red Book of Hergest,* Evans, J. G.: 1218, I. *ny syrthawd yr clawd yr claf dyeu.* 1269. 43-4. *Carngostawc gorawc goreu ytt dewi adewis clafdyeu.*

    Pant y Clafferty at Llanrug, Caerns. is a corrupted form of Pant y Clafr dy. The Rev. Griffith T. Roberts of Llanrug refers to this in his essay on unusual farm and field names submitted at the Barri Eisteddfod Genedlaethol of 1968. A leper house

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or hospital was said to exist here in 1336. (Penrhyn papers). I am indebted to Mr. W. Gerallt Harries for this reference.

58. *Arch. Camb.*, 1920, XX, 230.
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60. *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, Pt. 1, 21.
61. Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments and Constructions in Wales and Monmouthshire, *An Inventory of the Ancient Monuments in Wales and Monmouthshire.* VII—*County of Pembroke*, London, 1925, pp. 397—400. Citing P.R.O. Chantry Certificates No. 75 South Wales. P.R.O. Court of Augmentations : Particulars for Leases. Co. Pembroke. File 225. m. 88.
62. Paterson, D. R., *Early Cardiff*, Exeter, 1926, pp. 42—43. Rees, W., *Cardiff* : *A history of the city*, Cardiff, 1962, p. 18.
63. Patent Rolls. 2 Henry IV. Part II. m. 32. 1400.
64. Birch, W. de G., *A History of Margam Abbey*, London, 1897, p. 65.
65. *a losgwyd am odineb y kleivion* (from Llyvyr John Brooke o Vowdwy. Wrexham MS. I. *Hist. MSS. Com. Report on MSS. in the Welsh Language.* Vol. II, pt. I, 1902, p. 355). This may well have been an excuse for appropriating the funds. Early in the reign of Edward III the Welsh monks of neighbouring abbey of Strata Marcella had been removed because they had lived *vitam enormiter dissolutam.* It is perhaps not without significance that they were replaced by English monks. (Mont. Coll., V, 138—141. Cited Phillimore op. cit., p. 245).
66. Close Rolls, 30 Henry III, m. 22. 1245.
67. Patent Rolls, 3 Edward III, Part 1, m. 13.
68. Ormerod, George, *The History of the County Palatine and City of Chester . . . incorporated with a republication of King's Vale Royal, and Leycester's Cheshire Antiquities.* Second edition revised and enlarged by T. Helsby, 1882, Vol. 1, 352. fn. e.
69. Cowper's Broxton MS 7b. Cited Ormerod, G., *op. cit.*, p. 352.
70. Ormerod, G., *op. cit.*, p. 352.
71. Fine Rolls. 28 Edward I. m. 8.
72. Fine Rolls 1 Edward II. m. 15.
73. Fine Rolls. 2 Edward III. m. 2.
74. Knowles, D., & Hadcock, R. N., *Mediaeval Religious Houses England & Wales*, London, 1953. pp. 256 and 263.
75. Ormerod, G., *op. cit.*, p. 352. Ormerod named some Wardens or Masters of this house. Rogerus (26 Edward I), Radulphus de Hole (30 Edward I), Ranulphus de Bebington (32 Edward I), Matthaeus de Hole (2 Edward II), Robertus Vickars (22 Henry VI), David Barrs (31 Henry VI).
76. Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum.* London 1846, Vol. VI. Part II. p. 756.
77. Lysons, D. & S., *Magna Britannia.* London 1810. Vol. II. p. 625.
78. "Remarks on the history of seals with local illustrations", Rev. W. H. Massie. *Journal of the Chester Archaeological Society*, 1852, Vol. 2, First Series, p. 181.
79. Patent Rolls, 11, Edward I, m. 11, 1283.
80. Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, London, 1846, Vol. VI, Part II. p. 756, citing D. & S. Lysons, *Magna Britannia.* London, 1810. Vol. II. p. 505.
81. Dugdale, *ibid.*, Vol. VI, Pt. 2, p. 757.
82. Owen, H., and Blakeway, J. B., *History of Shrewsbury.* London, 1825. Vol. II. p. 171., (i) Dr. Charles Talbot informs me that Walter Durdent was officially bishop of Coventry, and unofficially bishop of Chester. He was consecrated bishop on 2 October 1149 and died 7 December 1159. The earliest see was Lichfield, but in 1075 bishop Peter transferred to Chester and thenceforth the bishops called themselves bishops of Chester. In 1102, bishop Robert (of Limesey) transferred his see to Coventry, thus becoming bishop of Coventry, but keeping the unofficial title bishop

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of Chester. After 1228, the official title became bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, remaining so until the Reformation. (ii) Dugdale, *op. cit.*, Vol. VI, Pt. II, p. 640 quotes Tanner as calling this ' St Giles's Spittle ', and saying, ' Without this town in the east suburb was an old Hospital for leprous and infirm people, dedicated to St Giles. It was in being in the beginning of the reign of King Henry the Second and I believe still continues '.

83. Charter Rolls. 9 Edward II. m. 12 (36), 1316.
Westminster, 1318. March 18. Inspeximus and confirmation of a charter dated at Wudestoc, 19 March, 5 John, in favour of the Lepers of St Giles, Shrewsbury. (Rotuli Chartarum, p. 122, dated 18 March) by K. on the information of John de Cherleton. (Calendar of Charter Rolls, 11 Edward II. m. 5. 1318).
84. Patent Rolls, 1 Richard II. Part III. m. 33. 1378.
85. Owen and Blakeway. *History of Shrewsbury.* London. 1825. Vol. II. p. 172.
86. Patent Rolls. 2 Henry V. Part I. m. 38. 1414.
87. Dugdale, *op. cit.*, Vol. VI, pt. 2, p. 640.
88. Pettigrew, T. J., *J. Brit. Arch. Ass.*, 1855, XI. 112.
89. Eyton, R. W., *Antiquities of Shropshire*, London, 1854, Vol. I, p. 347.
90. *Ibid.*, p. 348.
91. Patent Rolls, 11, Edward I. m. 8. 1283.
92. Pettigrew, T. J., *J. Brit. Arch. Ass.*, 1855, XI, pp. 9-34, 95-117, 113.
93. Knowles, D., and Hadcock, R. N., *Mediaeval Religious Houses : England and Wales*, London, 1953, p. 257.
94. Hearne, Thomas, *Itinerary of John Leland the Antiquary*, Oxford. 1769. Third ed., Vol. IV, Pt. II, p. 86.
95. Mercier, C. A., *Leper Houses and Mediaeval Hospitals*, London, 1915 (Fitzpatrick lecture), also in *Glasgow med. J.*, 1915, 83, 1-20, 81-103.
96. *Lhyfr o fedheginiaeth a physygwriaeth.* Wellcome MS 417, c. 1600 A.D. Wellcome MS. 417 was not known to Timothy Lewis before his edition, *The Welsh Leech Book*, Liverpool, 1914 went to press. Lewis used a transcript made by I. Foulkes in 1888, cf. S 577, 17, 135 and 327 in the printed edition.
97. Pughe, J. (tr), Williams ab Ithel, J. (ed.), *The Physicians of Myddvai ; Meddygon Myddfai*, Llandovery, 1861. p. 217.
98. Statutory Instruments, 1966, No. 1, Public Health. England and Wales. The Public Health (Leprosy) Regulation, 1966.

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